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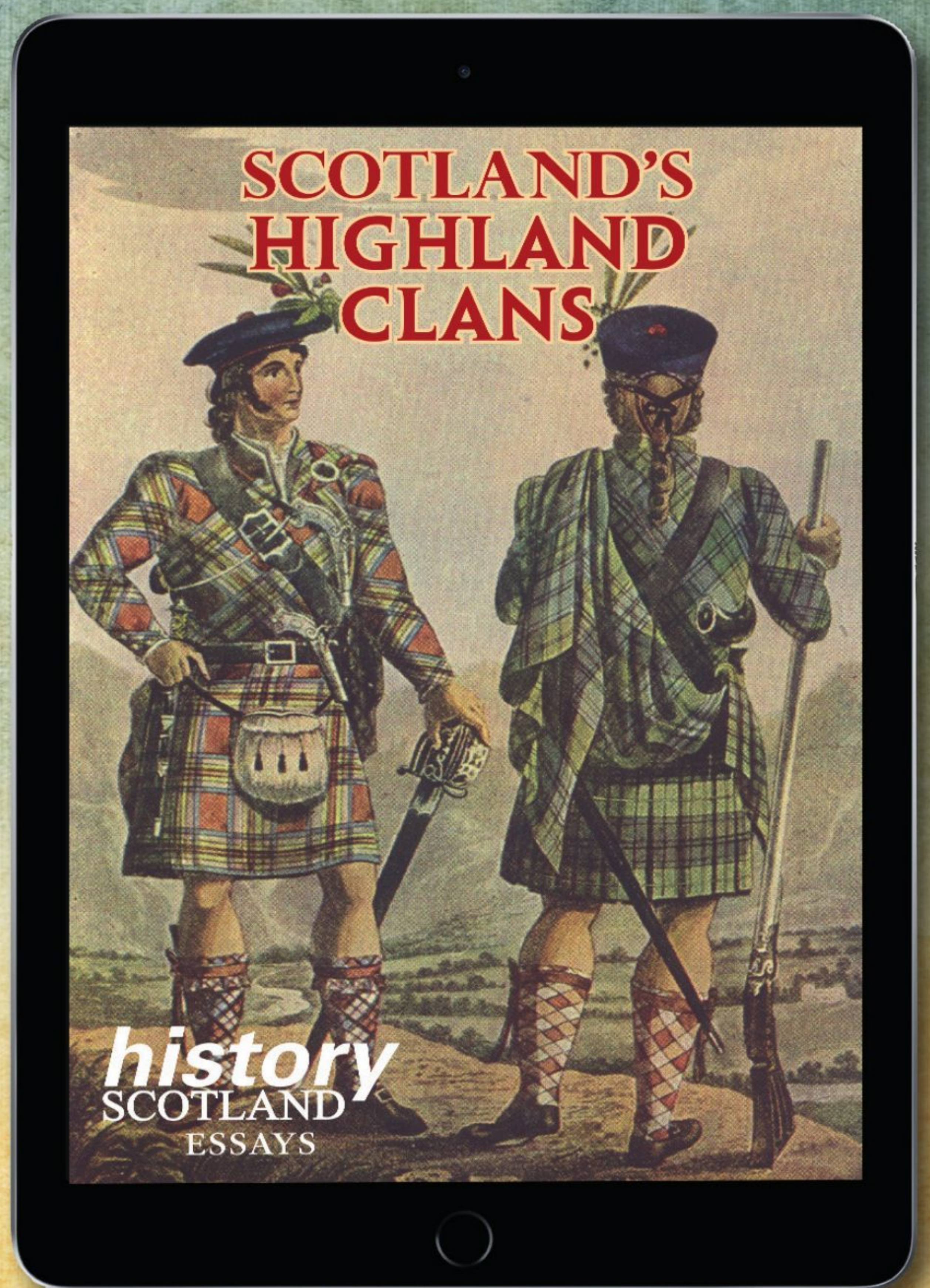


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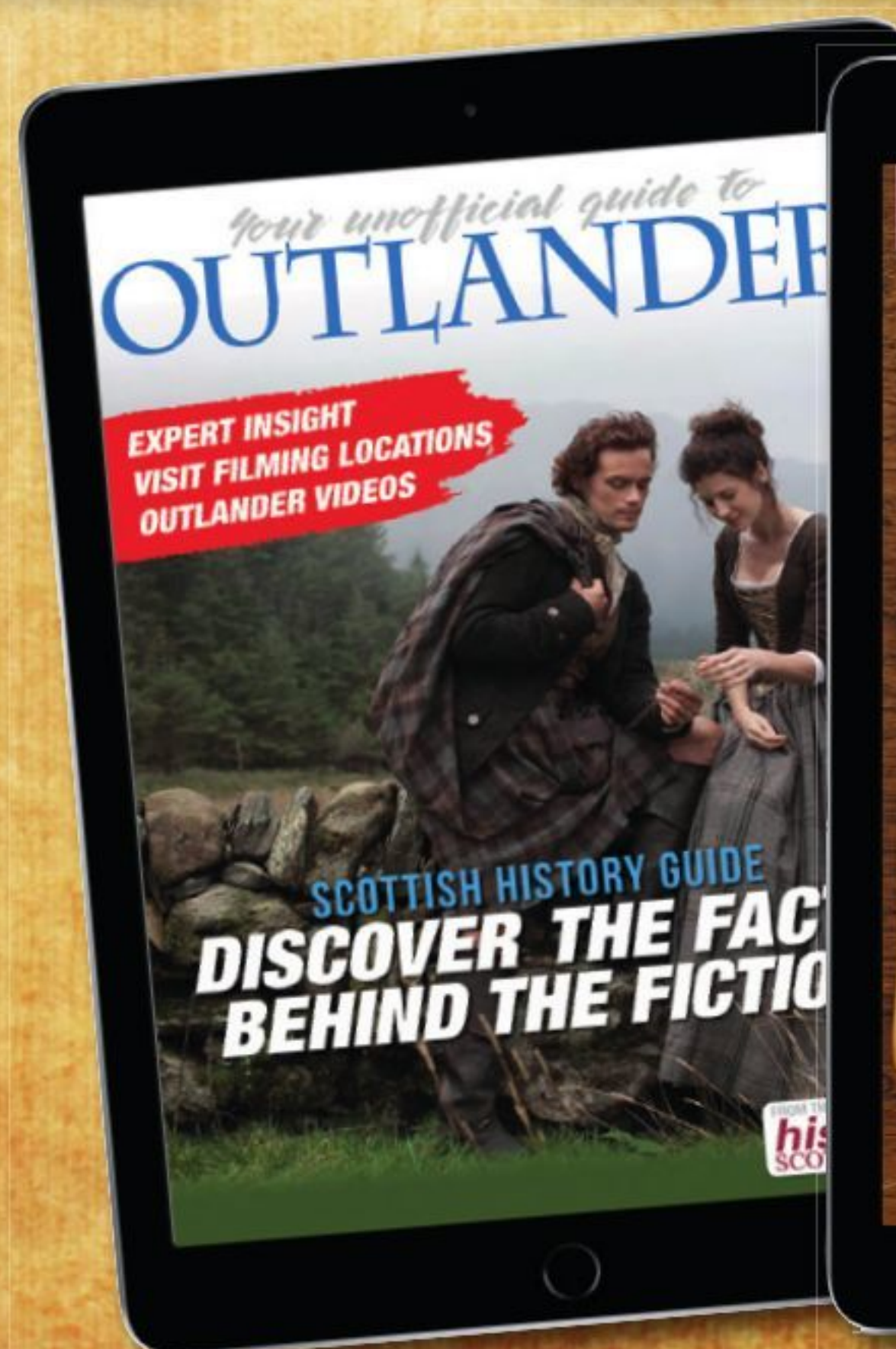
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History Scotland was launched in October 2001 at the Royal Museum in Edinburgh by Professor Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal, who is now one of the magazine's patrons. It is backed by the Scottish history and archaeology professions with leading representatives from a variety of different disciplines on the Editorial Board.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life and the British Humanities Index

history SCOTLAND

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Volume 19, Number 6

November/December 2019

FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the last *History Scotland* of 2019, packed as usual with a wealth of history, heritage and archaeology from around the country and across the centuries. Our cover article Early Views of Scotland takes a wide-ranging look at how Scotland – and the Scots – have been viewed by the Greeks, Romans and others. We also explore the wearing of tartan in the years following the Act of Proscription and present the latest research on a notorious 17th-century bandit gang.



And from bandits to barracks, our Maryhill controversy article charts the protracted dispute over the construction of a Victorian barracks, showing that the debate over using private expertise in public building projects is nothing new. As we see so many times with modern-day issues and concerns, looking back into the past can provide both warnings and possible solutions.

In the next issue we'll bring you news of what a range of heritage organisations and attractions have lined up for 2020, as well as reflections on the history and archaeology scene from 2019. Subscribe today to ensure you secure your copy – see our special offer on page 60.

Enjoy the issue.

Warm wishes
Rachel Bellerby
Editor, *History Scotland*

MEET THE CONTRIBUTORS



Barry Baldwin is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Calgary. He has written twelve books, innumerable academic, magazine and newspaper articles and dozens of short stories.

Starting on page 22, he takes us on a wide-ranging tour of how Scotland and the Scots were viewed by the world from classical times onwards.



Tanja Buelmann is Professor of History at Northumbria University. She has published widely on Scottish migration and diaspora, with a particular emphasis on associational culture.

In this issue (page 32) Tanja uses the example of a 19th-century emigrant family point as a starting point from which to explore Scotland's centuries-old global interactions, reflecting on what this outward-looking position might mean in the context of Brexit.



Dr Allan Kennedy is Lecturer in History at the University of Dundee, specialising in early modern Scotland, and is also consultant editor of *History Scotland*.

In 'Bandits of the 17th century' (page 14), he explores an age of terror in the Highlands, when bandit gangs pursued criminal activities such as cattle robbing and extortion, giving rise to the legend of folk heroes such as Rob Roy, despite the fact that the actions of these men were often anything but heroic.

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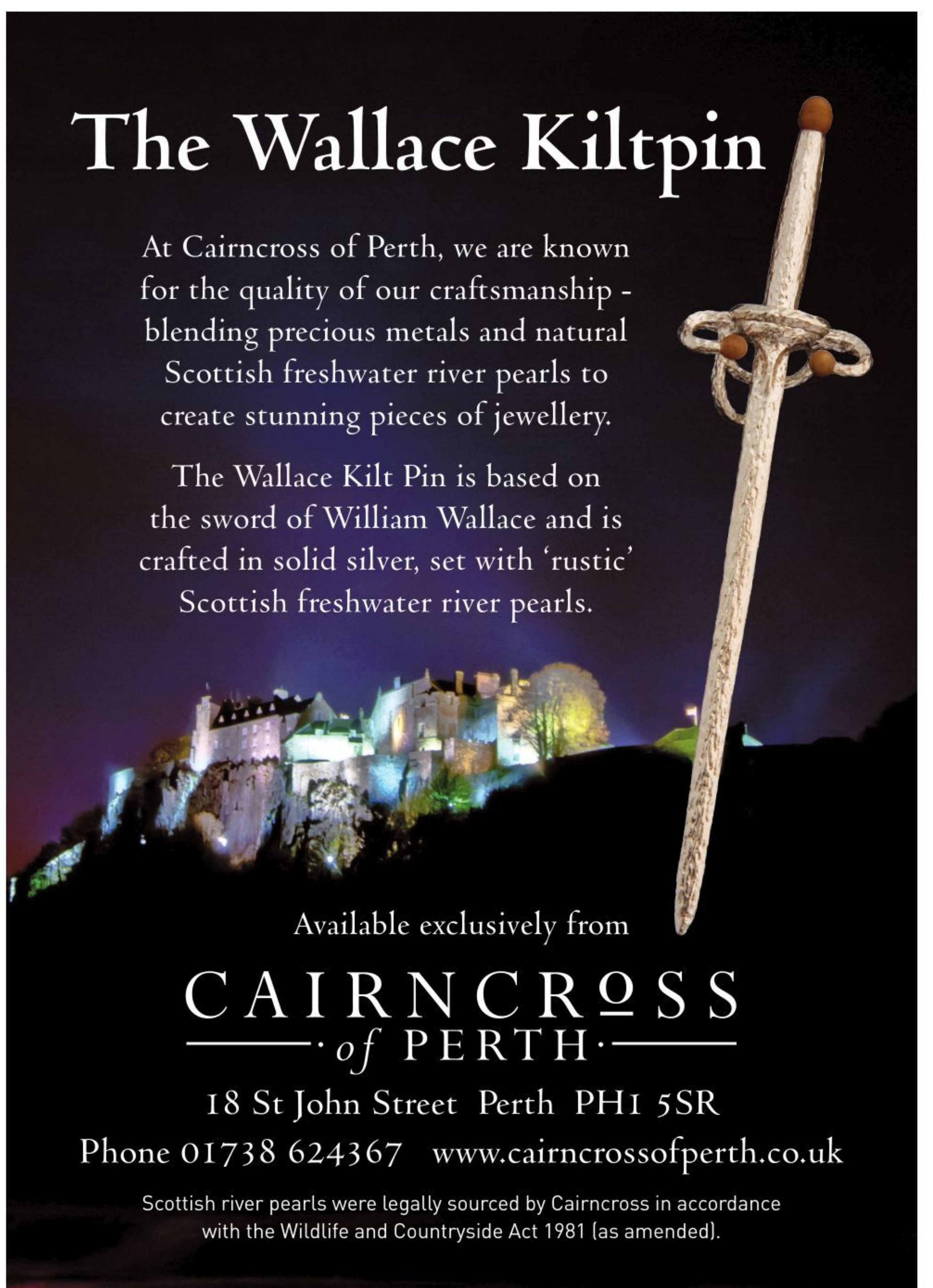
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HISTORY NEWS

1,400-YEAR-OLD BURIAL GROUND DISCOVERED NEAR MUIR OF ORD

Archaeologists working on the Tarradale Through Time project have discovered burial mounds that appear to point to the discovery of a large potentially Pictish barrow cemetery, with earlier prehistoric activity

Tarradale Through Time, a project of the North of Scotland Archaeological Society, is currently excavating a possible Pictish barrow cemetery near Muir of Ord, a village nine miles east of Inverness. Previous aerial photography and geophysical survey suggested a range of surviving features below the plough soil. Excavation has now confirmed the presence of a number of barrows (burial mounds) and enclosures ranging in size from around eight metres across to over 40 metres. If confirmed to be Pictish, these barrows may be in the region of 1,400 years old, whilst other features on the site could potentially date much further back into the prehistoric period.



Site director Steven Birch said: 'We are looking at a large potentially Pictish barrow cemetery, where there also appears to be some earlier prehistoric activity. It is a very important site, probably the second

largest Pictish cemetery in Scotland, with a number of square and round barrows, as well as larger enclosures. We intend to evaluate the preservation and phasing of these features, obtaining radiocarbon dates from charcoal and bone samples to tell the story of the site over time'.

This excavation comes hot on the heels of the discovery of a new Pictish stone in the Dingwall area by members of the North of Scotland Archaeological Society. It is hoped that the new stone discovery and the current dig at a significant Pictish site will considerably add to archaeologists' understanding of the Picts in the north of Scotland.

More information on the excavation can be found on the website: www.tarradalethroughtime.com and on social media on Facebook: <https://scot.sh/fbtarra> and Twitter: <https://twitter.com/TarradaleTT>



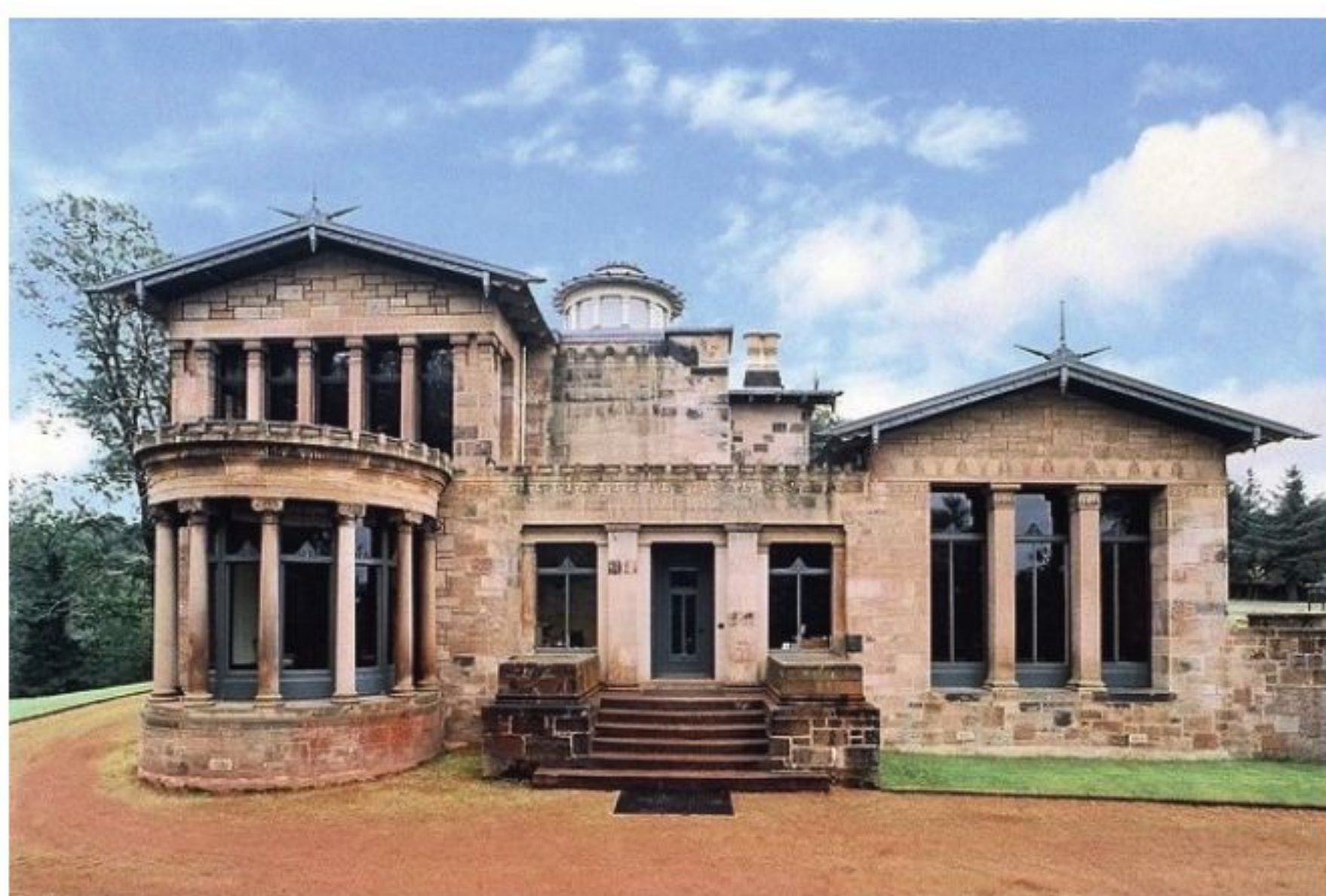
Hidden interior design gems revealed at Holmwood House

Widely regarded as the finest residential example of Alexander 'Greek' Thomson's architectural vision and his interior designs, Holmwood house in Cathcart, Glasgow, has reopened to the public following a three-month project to recreate the property's original stencilled paint schemes

Completed in 1858, Holmwood house was created for paper magnate James Couper. National Trust for Scotland (NTS) took ownership more than a century later, in 1994, and in the course of renovation discovered Thomson's original decorations surviving intact under layers of wallpaper and paint, applied over the years by the house's former owners.

The Trust began an extensive programme of research and investigation to uncover these original schemes and is re-creating the splendour of Holmwood as it was designed by Thomson. The highly colourful and intricate stencilled walls are rare examples of Thomson's interior design schemes and are described by NTS as the most complete and most detailed of his work known to have survived, showing Thomson's whole house approach to architecture and design.

The latest phase of the project has recreated the scheme in the main entrance hall, interior



Above: Holmwood house; Below: the restoration work



stairway and large central cupola, based on surviving evidence. Visitors can see samples of the original 19th-century work, where conservators have scraped back the years of paint, and the re-created schemes show how Thomson intended the spaces to look.

The team has taken a fully reversible approach to the redecoration, scraping

back layers of wallpaper and paint to reveal 'windows' into the original schemes to allow them to understand how the designs work. These 'windows' have been left visible for visitors to understand how the conservation process worked.

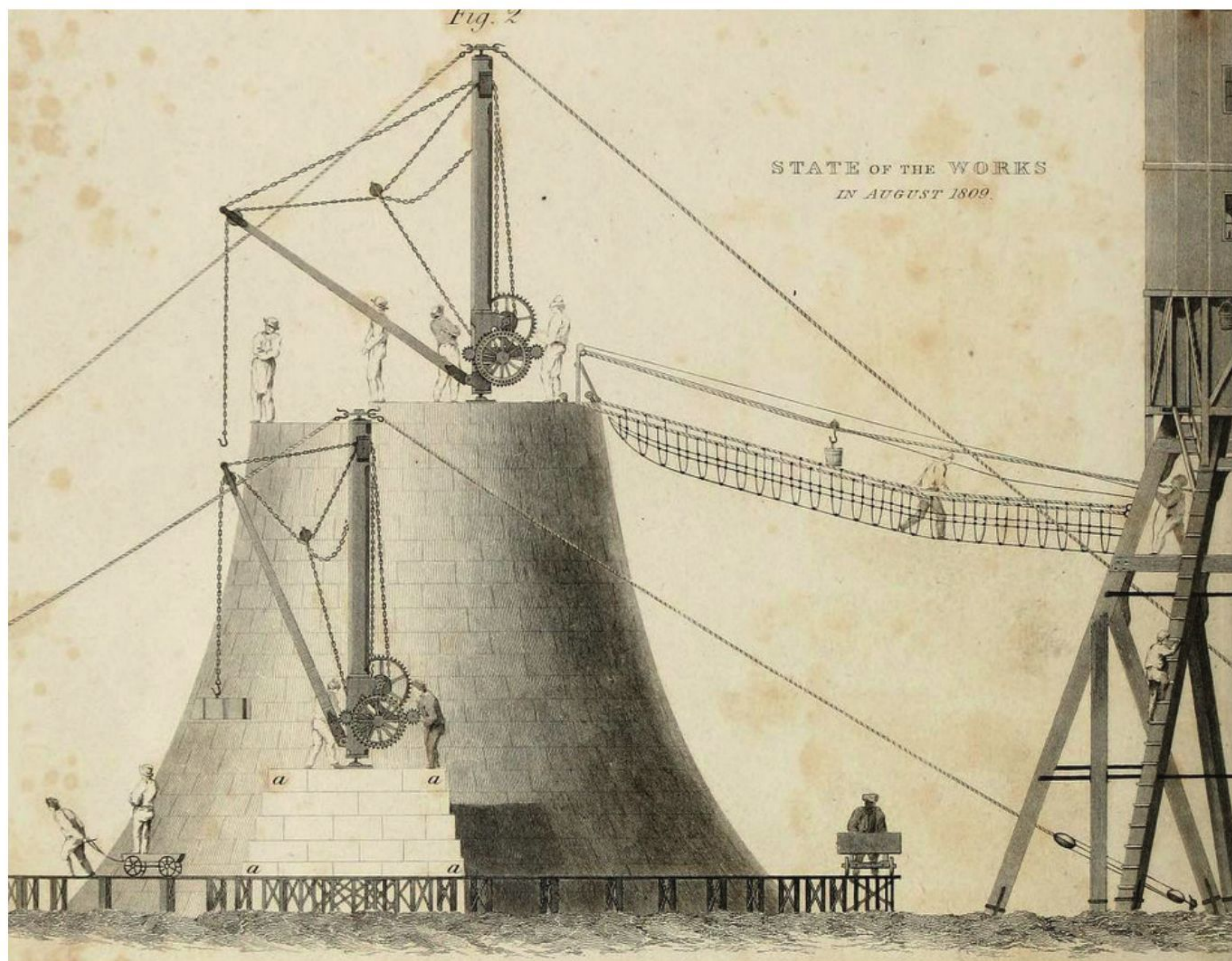
The remainder of the walls were then covered in lining paper and the newly-created decoration added on top. The process of peeling back layers of decoration to reveal the original paint schemes was very slow, with conservators using scalpels to peel back one layer of paint at a time.

The redecoration work was carried out by restoration painting specialists Robert Howie & Son who have previously worked on Holmwood's entrance hall and dining room. The Mauchline-based team used the 'windows' to trace the stencil designs and then cut their own stencils by hand. The colour mixing of the paint was done on site, based on the original colours.

The investigation and research at Holmwood is ongoing and the Trust hopes to return more rooms to their original schemes. A fundraising campaign to raise £120,000 has been launched and donations can be made at <https://scot.sh/holm> or in person at the property.

NEW STEVENSON MAP RESOURCE

More than 2,000 items documenting the progress of Scottish engineering over the centuries are now accessible through a new map resource launched by National Library of Scotland



The resource brings together a range of archive items from the Stevenson archive

The online resource brings together library items, and plots records of archive items onto their corresponding locations in Scotland. Records of plans, maps, charts and drawings relating to Stevenson's work in Scotland are included and these can be viewed by location through the website's dynamic map interface. It is also possible to search for material about specific subjects, including bridges, harbours, canals and lighthouses.

The Stevenson archive is one of National Library of Scotland's most important collections, containing material from the firm created by lighthouse engineer Robert Stevenson, grandfather of author Robert Louis Stevenson. Established in the early 19th century, the company completed Scottish and international engineering projects until the 1950s.

The resource was created by Rachel Dishington, an Arts & Humanities Research Council collaborative doctoral partnership PhD student at the University of Edinburgh.

Website: <https://scot.sh/stevens>

Changes at National Museum of Scotland

Dr Gordon Rintoul CBE, Director, National Museums Scotland, has announced that he will be stepping down in March 2020 after eighteen years in the role



The departure follows the recent transformation of the National Museum of Scotland, a fifteen-year £80 million investment in the visitor experience at the museum. The project, which created 29 new galleries, has made National Museum of Scotland the most visited museum and attraction in the UK outside London.

Dr Rintoul joined National Museums Scotland in 2002 and has overseen the organisation's development into one of the leading museum groups in Europe. He was awarded a CBE for services to museums in 2012 and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 2018. Speaking about his contributions to National Museums Scotland

he said: 'None of these achievements would have been possible without the extensive and committed work of our talented and dedicated staff and volunteers, and our committed supporters whether as donors, advisers or simply through encouraging our work. I am deeply indebted to them all for standing alongside me on this hugely enjoyable journey'.

Dr Rintoul is due to step down from his role as director in March next year. A spokesperson for National Museums Scotland explained to *History Scotland* what will happen next: 'The role of Director of National Museums Scotland is a public appointment made by the Board of Trustees and approved by the Scottish Government. It is a high-profile role which will be advertised publicly and widely and is expected to attract strong interest from the UK and internationally'.



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From rebellion to romantic appreciation:

the wearing of tartan following the Act of Proscription

Dr Rosie Waine charts the use of tartan following the repeal of the Act of Proscription, as the plaid was rehabilitated from its earlier associations with rebellion to become a popular and patriotic fashion fabric in Britain

'Miss Rose persuaded her to order a gay-coloured, flimsy plaid silk, which she assured her was quite the latest fashion in London, and which Molly thought would please her father's Scotch blood. But when he saw the scrap which she had brought home as a pattern, he cried out that the plaid belonged to no clan in existence, and that Molly ought to have known this by instinct. It was too late to change it, however, for Miss Rose had promised to cut the dress out as soon as Molly had left her shop'.

Published as a serial in the *Cornhill Magazine* between 1864 and 1866, Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, *An Every-Day Story* follows the fortunes of Molly Gibson, a shy young woman living in a provincial town in England during the 1830s. At the prospect of visiting the house of a venerable country squire and having nothing suitable to wear for the occasion, Molly is persuaded by her Scottish father to purchase a new gown from a local milliner. Unsure of what to get, Molly allows the dressmaker to override her natural reserve and opts for something exceedingly gaudy: a silk tartan gown, which she regrets purchasing every single time she is forced to wear it.

Tartan has often been characterised as a masculine fabric, due in no small part to its prominent use in outfits of highland dress and in the uniforms of Scottish regiments during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, as showcased in the exhibition *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions*

Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon with her son George Duncan, by George Romney, 1778. The duchess is often credited as being the first woman to introduce silk tartan into the wardrobes of London high society

of Scotland (National Museum of Scotland, until 10 November), the cloth increasingly found its way into fashionable womenswear as tartan was transformed into an internationally recognised symbol of pan-Scottish identity during the era of European romanticism. Some, such as the fictional Molly Gibson, found the fabric distastefully garish, while others considered it the height of style and sophistication.

Tartan fashion

Following the final Jacobite rising of 1745-46, highland dress was banned in Scotland under the Act of Proscription due to its use by supporters of the exiled House of Stuart. Those caught sporting the garb were subject to a range of punishments of varying severity, including fines, imprisonment and transportation abroad. However, there were significant exceptions written into the legislation. In accordance with the wording of the act, Scottish elites, men on active service in the British army, and women were all extended the privilege of wearing highland dress and the associated plaid. As such, tartan remained a significant aspect of Scottish social and cultural life throughout the middle decades of the 18th century, with women in particular free to wear the controversial cloth in public without fear of retaliation from the state.

When the Act of Proscription was eventually repealed by parliament in 1782, tartan experienced something of a revival in the fashionable world as its relationship with rebellion gradually faded away to be replaced by a romantic appreciation born out of the art and literature of the age.

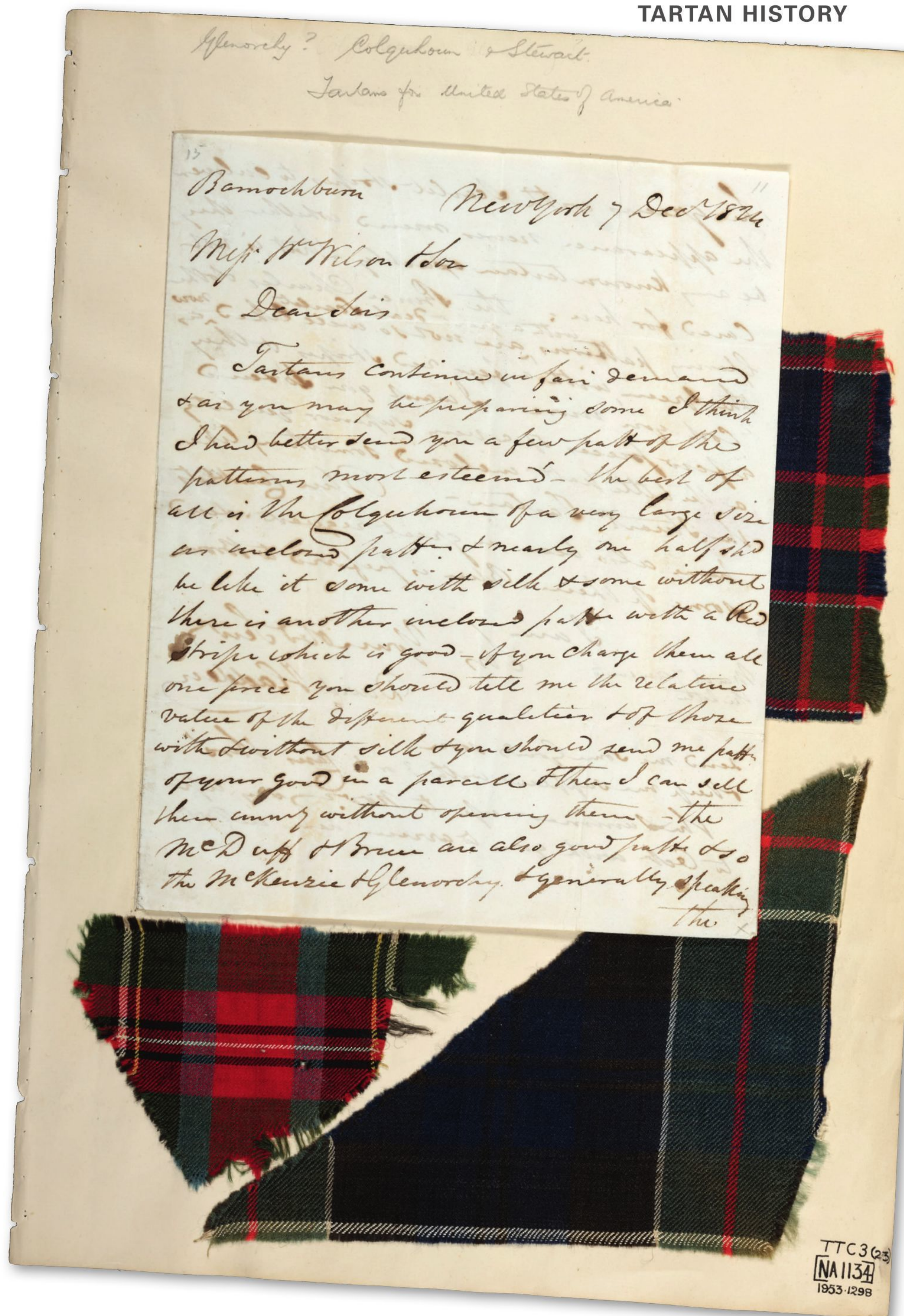
Jane Maxwell, duchess of Gordon, is often credited as being the first woman to introduce silk tartan into the wardrobes of London high society during the 1780s to 90s. Her valet, Matthias D'Amour, recorded in his memoirs that the duchess appeared at the queen's drawing room arrayed in an abundance of silk tartan woven for her at Spitalfields. By adopting tartan in a space steeped in the modishness of the court, she was using sartorial politics to champion the military ambitions of her husband, the duke

of Gordon, and her son, the marquis of Huntly. This stunt earned her the moniker of the 'Tartan Belle', and demand for silk tartan was soon so high in the capital that lengths of unfinished plaid were cut straight from the loom to fulfil the mounting orders. 'At last the tartan influenza reached even Paris,' recalled D'Amour, 'and the duchess had the gratification of knowing that she was the leader of fashion for London and the French metropolis'.

Meanwhile, in Scotland the

Letter to Wilsons of Bannockburn from a merchant in New York regarding the popularity of certain tartans among his customers and including a request for samples, 1824

influential tartan weaving company William Wilson and Sons of Bannockburn had begun a significant trade in civilian patterns. Established in Stirlingshire in the 1760s, Wilsons primarily supplied tartan to soldiers serving in Scottish regiments, who wore kilts and plaids as part of their uniform. However, the firm did not concentrate solely on providing quality cloth for military wear. During this period, Wilsons also began to cultivate a profitable sideline of civilian tartans



intended for use in women's gowns and cloaks, children's clothing, and gentlemen's suits of highland dress.

The tartan collection at National Museums Scotland contains several costumes and a substantial archive of manuscripts relating to Wilsons' business dealings in Britain and abroad. The archive includes correspondence, pattern books and supply lists, which provide unique insight into what was driving the popular demand for tartan during the later 18th and early 19th centuries and what customers expected from the fabric. An extremely versatile product, tartan rapidly became admired for its attractive appearance and practical qualities, being warm, waterproof and visually striking.

Two tartan cloaks from the collection of National Museums Scotland illustrate how customers utilised Wilsons' cloth in different ways, using it to tailor clothes suitable for special occasions as well as for the more everyday. Dating from the early 19th century, these cloaks demonstrate how this heavily romanticised product of Scottish manufacture could be usefully applied in women's outerwear.

The first is practical yet elegant, with an interior drawstring that

allows it to be cinched at the upper back and is fashioned from one of the earliest known examples of the Buchanan tartan. The tapered silhouette would have complemented the high-waisted fashions worn by women at the time, while the matching of the tartan along the seams gives the illusion of wearing the pattern all of a piece.

The second is made from Royal Stewart, one of the most recognisable tartan patterns due to its popular association with the British royal family. The cloak itself is composed of five layered tiers of fabric, with evidence of a pink silk trim now lost to heavy use. It is fully lined with a bright, printed cotton and can be fastened at the neck with a chain and two gold clasps cast in the shape of lion's paws.

Tartan and 1822

The feted arrival of George IV in Edinburgh in August 1822 launched tartan onto the national stage, leaving a legacy that still holds sway today. It was the first time that a ruling monarch had paid a royal visit to Scotland since the coronation of Charles II in 1651 and, as such, it was billed as a moment of high pageantry and political symbolism. Anticipating

From left: Woman's tiered cloak in Royal Stewart tartan, lined with printed cotton and fastened at the neck using chained clasps, c.1820

Woman's caped cloak in Buchanan tartan, featuring a cinched back and a standing collar tied with green silk ribbon, c.1800-10

High-waisted dress in the chief of clan Chattan silk tartan said to have been part of the trossseau belonging to Sara Justina Davidson of Tulloch, who married Ewen MacPherson of Cluny, 14th chief of clan Macpherson in 1832

the king's desire for a great highland spectacle, the organisers of the visit – author Sir Walter Scott and soldier and historian David Stewart of Garth – masterminded a programme of patriotic events designed to showcase Scotland's distinct place within the union while also emphasising its loyalty to the crown. The plaid, with its chequered Jacobite past and arresting appearance, was deemed the perfect fabric with which to capture the public imagination.

Shortly before the visit commenced, Scott published *Hints to the Inhabitants of the City of Edinburgh*. This pamphlet contained instructions on how attendees should behave and, significantly, how they should dress to welcome the monarch. For the men in attendance, military uniforms or suits of highland dress were the order of the day. By comparison, women were urged to show restraint when it came to national badges. Scott discouraged ladies from adopting tartan trains when being presented to the king at Holyrood palace, stating that these were too easily tripped over when walking backwards out of the monarch's presence. 'A scarf of tartan may



do very well' as a substitute, wrote Scott, 'but four or five yards of tartan satin sweeping the ground must produce an effect, to say the least, of rather a novel character.'

Critics of the royal visit decried the indiscriminate application of tartan, with many observing that the adoption of the cloth by lowlanders and highlanders alike detracted from the historical authenticity of the pageant. Irrespective of such divisions, Scott's encouragement of tartan as a form of national costume aided its rehabilitation from rebellious garb to a patriotic fashion fabric for the masses.

Ladies' magazines published in the aftermath of the royal visit prompted women to adopt the cloth in celebration. In September 1822, *La Belle Assemblée* proclaimed that: 'The prevailing colour this month is tartan; the Christopher bonnet is universally worn and the hair is arranged most becomingly à-la-North with brilliants in the form of a St Andrew's Cross'. The October edition of the immensely popular *Ackermann's Repository of Arts* contained a coloured fashion plate, depicting a sophisticated young woman sporting a high-waisted gown of silk Mackenzie tartan. It was a trend that had both longevity and international reach, with women in Paris being advised to adopt highland bonnets and plaid dresses as late as 1826.

Clan tartans

On Thursday 20 December 1832, Sara Justina Davidson of Tulloch married Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, 14th chief of clan Macpherson at St. George's, Hanover Square in Mayfair. It was a small ceremony, followed by a splendid breakfast attended by close friends and family members. The party was hosted at the house of the bride's brother, Henry, who lived just a short distance from the parish church in Berkeley Square. Afterwards, as reported by a journalist for the *Morning Post*, the happy couple embarked on their wedding journey to Leamington Spa. The following June they took up a permanent residency at Cluny castle in Badenoch, where they were welcomed by a deputation of

kinsmen and tenantry in highland dress, accompanied by pipers playing 'The Macpherson's Gathering'.

On her marriage, Sara wore a gown of white moiré silk with very little adornment. In sharp contrast to this simple silhouette, her *trousseau* contained a high-waisted gown of vivid silk tartan, trimmed with a profusion of lace across the bodice and sporting a pair of large, puffed sleeves. Worn with a detachable belt embroidered with floral sprays of bright, coloured silks, the hem of the gown is padded, adding further weight and dimension to what is already an impressive and characterful garment.

Not only does this outfit exemplify the popularity of tartan in women's fashion during the early 19th century, it also shows the symbolic potential of the cloth when adopted

Fashion plate showing an evening dress in Mackenzie tartan, from Ackermann's Repository of Arts, London, number 82, 1 October 1822

Fashion plate showing a French ensemble inspired by the romantic revival of highland dress

at moments of high personal significance to the wearer. Unlike Molly Gibson's 'flimsy plaid silk' of indeterminable pattern purchased in a moment of indecision, the tartan used in Sara's trousseau conforms to the sett of the chief of clan Chattan, simplified for reproduction in silk. Sara's use of this particular pattern was no coincidence. It signified to all around her that she supported her new husband's claim to that long-contested title, as well as celebrating her entry into married life.

Dr Rosie Waine, William Grant Foundation Research Fellow at National Museums Scotland, is one of the curators of Wild and Majestic.

Wild and Majestic is at National Museum of Scotland until 10 November. For details, visit: www.nms.ac.uk/wildandmajestic



FURTHER READING

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Centuries-old mystery **of PAISLEY ABBEY** **MEDIEVAL TUNNEL** *is revealed*



Archaeologists have solved a centuries-old mystery of where the end of a well-preserved medieval tunnel that lies beneath Paisley town centre is located

Archaeologists have spent the summer excavating Paisley abbey's drain, uncovering a well-preserved medieval archway where the drain flowed into the River Cart

It was already known where Scotland's finest and best-preserved medieval tunnel lies buried beneath Paisley town centre – but the centuries-old mystery of where it ended had never been solved until now.

A team of volunteers led by GUARD archaeologists spent the summer excavating Paisley abbey's drain and found a well-preserved 14th-century stone archway marking the exact point where the drain and its contents once flowed into the River Cart. They established that the tunnel, believed to be around 100m long, ends around 3m from the banks of the present-day river, which would

have been wider and shallower at the time the drain was built.

Trench 1 was located in the middle section of the medieval drain at a point where the medieval pointed arch of the drain meets a late 19th-century concrete repair. Here, the team investigated through a modern tarmac surface which covered 18th- and 19th-century deposits that contained several large fragment of glass wine bottles, including one with the stamp of the earls of Dundonald, who owned the land around the abbey at this time. Below this were several garden-type occupation layers that contained a number of artefacts including clay tobacco pipes with a distinctive late

17th-century shape and style.

The structural stones that formed the arch of the drain were uncovered, along with the slab of concrete that marked the start of the repaired section. Surprisingly, it appears that the stones forming the roof were only one course thick and quite crudely shaped, unlike the fine stonework visible on the inside of the drain. It may be that some of the structural stones were removed to make space to get in and pour the concrete.

Trench 2 was an extension to an evaluation trench that was excavated in 2009 to investigate the point where the medieval drain joins the River Cart. Here, the team were able to



Clockwise from top left: excavation of trench 1, showing the stones of the arched roof of the drain

Excavation of trench 2, showing the end of the drain with the facing stones of the wall

The end of the drain is just beyond the blocking on the inside of the structure

reveal the remains of the medieval drain, uncovering its end, comprising a pointed arch with the facing stones of the exterior wall that continued on both sides of the drain. The stones forming the face of the wall show that this section of the structure was built to be visible and may have formed the precinct or boundary wall of the monastery. The interior of the drain was not investigated, but several large blocks of masonry including architectural stones were revealed in the upper fill. These stones may have come from buildings that were built over the drain or the immediate vicinity.

The abbey drain had lain hidden for centuries until it was unexpectedly rediscovered in the 19th century, and in recent years, has been periodically opened up for visitors.

And while the trenches have been covered up again, the discovery could help lead to a more

permanent visitor attraction being built in the future, allowing people to go inside the drain.

Excavation leader Bob Will spoke about the finds and his hopes for what these might mean for Paisley's future: 'We found more than I was expecting and it is really exciting. We found the end of the drain and what was the boundary wall of the monastery. The river was wider and shallower in those days – much more than in the last couple of hundred years, as the walls now surrounding it are artificial. The main parts of the drain date back to the mid-14th century and are incredibly well preserved.

'What we have uncovered has helped us see what could be done with any future excavation. We now know much more about the medieval ground levels and have a good idea where some of the monastery buildings were. Ideally

there would be more permanent access to the drain at some point in the future and what we've uncovered here makes that much more feasible'.

Renfrewshire council leader Iain Nicolson added: 'Paisley is already on the map as a key visitor destination within Scotland and we are already delivering on ambitious plans to use our unique heritage to drive new footfall to the town centre.

'We would be keen to explore any opportunities to build on that by opening up more permanent access to the abbey drain at some point in the future – and the findings of the Big Dig mean we now know more than ever about this incredible feature beneath the town centre.

'The Big Dig was a really great community project which has created a lot of interest in Paisley town centre and its history over the past couple of months. We would like to thank our funders for helping make it happen, and all who have been involved in the projects – particularly the local volunteers who came out in all weathers to take part'.

The eight-week Abbey Drain Big Dig was co-ordinated by Renfrewshire council and led by GUARD Archaeology Ltd, with funding from National Lottery Heritage Fund and Historic Environment Scotland. It also saw a strong community element, with volunteers from Renfrewshire Local History Forum taking part in the dig, students from the University of the West of Scotland filming proceedings, and a series of events and seminars for residents and visitors.

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BANDITS OF THE 17TH CENTURY: The Mackintosh- MacGregor gang

Dr Allan Kennedy tells the bloody story of one of the most notorious outlaw gangs in 17th-century Scotland, a group whose criminal activities throughout the eastern highlands shocked contemporary observers and earned its leaders lasting infamy



*Gilderoy was a bonny Boy
When he went to the Glen,
He had silk Stockings on his Legs,
And Roses in his Shoon:
No Woman then or woman kind
Had ever greater Joy,
Then we two when we lodg'd alone,
I and my Gilderoy.*

These lines, printed in 1701 but probably reflecting a much older tradition, refer to a highland cattle-robber named Patrick 'Gilderoy' MacGregor. At the time of his death in 1636, 'Gilderoy' was regarded simply as a criminal and bandit. Within a few decades, however, he had been transformed, memorialised in verse as a romantic, tragic anti-hero. Similar posthumous metamorphoses have been undergone by numerous other bandits throughout European history, with most of them emerging from the process as champions of the common folk daring to challenge the powers-that-be. But behind such myth-making lie very real people,

many of them, like 'Gilderoy' or the border reiver Johnnie Armstrong (d.1530), similarly a subject of *post mortem* romantic balladry, responsible for horrific acts of violence. The golden age of this real-world banditry in Scotland was the late-17th and early-18th centuries, with most of it concentrated in Scotland's very own 'wild west', the highlands. This article explores the world of the highland bandits, asking what they got up to, why, and how the authorities responded. It does so by means of a case-study, focusing on the Mackintosh-MacGregor gang, which operated in the north-east during the 1660s and became probably the most notorious group of its type in the entirety of the 17th century.

Highland banditry

Organised robbery had long been a feature of highland society. Under the tradition of the *creach*, cattle lifting was enshrined as a rite of passage by which young

Portrait of Gilder Roy in complete highland outfit. This is probably the same type of image that people would have associated with both Lachlan Mackintosh and Patrick Roy

men could prove their mettle and transition into manhood – as well as having the useful side-effect of boosting the wealth of one's own kin group at the expense of a rival. By the mid-17th century, however, ritualised violence of this kind were more or less moribund, destroyed by a combination of government pressure and longer-term social change within the highlands itself. Instead, the main problem – aside from feuding between clans and families, which very much persisted – was predatory robbery by 'broken men'. These were individuals who stood outwith the normal social hierarchies, lacking jobs, fixed abodes or identifiable landlords. They tended to survive by stealing livestock, particularly cattle, which they could then sell on, and to do this more efficiently, many of them drifted together into groups. Larger groups could then begin to diversify, moving from cattle-rustling into extortion, kidnapping, blackmail and highway-robbery.

Successive Scottish governments tried by various means to stifle bandit activity, most usually by enlisting the assistance of clan elites (for whom broken men were almost as unwelcome as they were to the authorities in Edinburgh or Whitehall) or by force of arms, this latter approach being particularly prominent during the Cromwellian occupation of the 1650s. Under the later Stuarts – Charles II, James VII, William and Mary, and Anne – tackling banditry eclipsed virtually all other policy goals in the highlands. Ever more elaborate initiatives were dreamt up, developing from the appointment of John Murray, 2nd earl of Atholl as a glorified regional policeman in 1667 to the creation of a massive, 280-strong judicial commission for the highlands in 1702 (the last of several such grants).

Despite all these efforts, banditry persisted – it was, after all, as late as the 18th century that the most well-known of all highland bandits, Rob Roy, earned his fame. But a particular peak of intensity seems to have been reached in the 1660s. This probably owed something to the political backdrop, since the withdrawal of the Cromwellian regime in 1659-60 and the subsequent restoration of Charles II caused major disruption to the structures of authority. Equally,

demographic and economic pressures, exacerbated by the second Anglo-Dutch war (1664-67), which saw Scotland forced into conflict with its key continental trading partner, probably played a role in pushing some men into lives of crime. Whatever the explanation, this was a decade replete with colourful and prolific rogues. There was Donald MacDonald, better known as ‘Halket Stirk’ (streaked or spotted bullock), who operated in Perthshire and was described by one observer as the ‘ring leader’ of highland cattle-thieves. In Mentieth, Calum Oig MacGregor (d.1669) was a ‘notorious sorner’ (a sorner being somebody who extorted free board and lodging under threat of violence) whose career seems to have begun after he was ostracised from his home parish of Callendar for committing incest. Finlay MacGibbon terrorised Stirlingshire as a cattle-lifter and, ultimately, a murderer; the infamous Neilson family filled a similar niche in Sutherland; and the hills of Lochaber seem to have been permanently seething with bandits, including one, John Macilvorie, suspected of having stolen livestock from lands owned by the earls of Airlie, who somehow earned the nickname ‘the speedy webster (weaver)’.

Hardened and violent though

Highland bandits tended to survive by stealing livestock, particularly cattle, which they could sell on

they were, none of these bandits reached quite the same heights of notoriety as attained by the Mackintosh-MacGregor gang. Led successively by two ‘broken men’, Lachlan Mackintosh and Patrick Roy MacGregor, this criminal fraternity operated on the eastern fringes of the highlands with brazen confidence throughout much of the 1660s before eventually being destroyed towards the end of the decade. The story of its rise, prominence and fall is a microcosm for the wider problem of highland banditry during the later 17th century.

‘Notorious Theeves and Robbers’

The origins of the Mackintosh-MacGregor gang are obscure. It seems to have emerged in eastern Moray, but beyond that we know little, and its leader, Lachlan Mackintosh, is equally enigmatic. He later claimed to be an impoverished ex-soldier who had served with royalist forces during the civil wars of the 1640s and 1650s, which may or may not have been true. What is certain is that his first confirmed criminal act took place in December 1663, when ‘with ane great number of associates’ he ‘came vnder cloud and silence of night’ to a charge house in Strathspey where the merchants John Butter and John McRobert were lodging. His gang attacked and immobilised the merchants, stole their packs, valued at around £220 Scots, and then melted away into the darkness. By this point, however, Mackintosh and his associates were already ‘comone and notorious theeves and robbers’, and this, combined with the reputed size of his company, suggests that Mackintosh had been living as a criminal for quite some time. Indeed, the people of Speyside were already so sick of his activities that they deputed George Grant, younger of Ballindalloch to apprehend him, which he did around the start of 1664. However, while incarcerated in Ballindalloch’s home awaiting transportation to Edinburgh for trial, Mackintosh contrived to escape. He immediately re-joined his gang and took up his



criminal career once more.

Over the next two years, the activities of Mackintosh's gang grew increasingly bold. Alongside thefts and animal-lifting, racketeering became something of a speciality, at least according to the eventual indictment prepared against him:

[He] hath bene... associating and joyning to himself ane number of brocken men and robbing and stealing fra his Maiesties leidges in the shirreffdomes of Aberdeine, Banff and Innernes ther hail guides and gear and forcing them to pey great soumes of money and compositions.

By the summer of 1665, Mackintosh, having remained untouched by the law since his run-in with Ballindalloch more than a year earlier, was ready to launch a major cattle-lifting raid against John Lyon of Muiresk, a Banffshire laird whose lands lay in Balchirie. On 15 June, accompanied by around 25 armed men, Mackintosh came to Balchirie and rounded up a total of 60 oxen and seventeen cows, valued in total at some £380 Scots. A group of Muiresk's tenants and servants chased after Mackintosh's gang in the hope of regaining the lost animals, but the bandits turned on their pursuers and grievously injured several of them.

The Balchirie raid was a great

Strathspey, where gang leader Lachlan Mackintosh's first confirmed criminal act took place

success for Mackintosh, but it would prove to be the beginning of the end. Muiresk raised criminal letters, demanding that Mackintosh appear before the justice general's court in Edinburgh to answer for the robbery. Mackintosh, predictably, declined to oblige, and he was declared an outlaw and a fugitive. That was enough for Alexander Stewart, 5th earl of Moray, who as sheriff of Moray was the premier legal official in the locality, to organise a co-ordinated manhunt. By October 1665, Moray had achieved his goal; Mackintosh was captured and dispatched to Edinburgh. He was quickly tried, and with the outcome never really in doubt, executed as a thief and sorner in January 1666.

But Mackintosh's gang did not die with him. Instead, leadership passed to a man who was certainly his closest associate, possibly his brother and destined to earn a reputation even blacker than his own – Patrick Roy MacGregor. MacGregor's tenure as the gang's leader was initially dominated by the continuing fall-out from the Balchirie raid. Not content with Mackintosh's capture, Muiresk went to the privy council to ask for a commission of fire and sword against the remaining gang-members and their new leader, and this was granted in December 1665. Commissions of this kind were fearsome weapons, since they

allowed the commissioner(s) – Muiresk, in this case – to take any action at all, up to and including extra-judicial killings, against the subjects. Faced with Muirsek's pursuit, MacGregor began a personal vendetta, repeatedly returning to Balchirie to uplift yet more livestock.

Matters came to a head in the spring 1666, when MacGregor learned that Muiresk himself, along with his son Alexander, was staying at Balchirie. On the night of 7 April, MacGregor and a retinue of up to 20 armed men broke into Muiresk's barn. They removed the sheaves of corn it contained and piled them around the house, dusting them with gunpowder. They then set them on fire. As the unfortunate residents awoke, choking on the smoke and quailing from the flames, they rushed outside, only to find themselves confronted by MacGregor's firearm-wielding gang. Muiresk, his son and several of their servants were taken prisoner, although these latter were released after swearing on a dirk not to reveal where Muiresk had been taken.

What happened next was later narrated in MacGregor's criminal indictment:

Efter ye had detened and caried them vp and doune the Countrie with great



trouble and vexatioune to their persones and had treated them most barborouslie, haveing robbed them at the takeing of the said hous of ther cloathes, money and anie thing they had about with them ... and haveing withdrawn from them meat so that they wer neir the poynt of sterveing, att last upon wednesday thereafter the eleventh day of the said moneth of appryll ye the said Patrick Roy McGregor and Patrick Drummond and your complices did most barborouslie and crewellie kill and murther the said deceassit John Lyoune and the said Alexander Lyoune.

Shortly prior to killing him, MacGregor had received a representation from a local laird, John Gordon of Baldornie, for Muiresk's release. MacGregor met Baldornie on the banks of the River Avon, but he utterly refused to hand over his prisoners, saying that, if the roles were reversed, he could have expected no mercy from Muiresk. Baldornie was however permitted to send a letter to Muiresk, which he did through his servant Thomas Gordon. But when Gordon later left MacGregor's camp, bearing a reply from Muiresk, he heard MacGregor advise the prisoners to make ready for God. The next day, Baldornie received word that the bodies of Muiresk and his son, naked and pitted with stab and gunshot wounds, would be found exposed on the braes of Abernethy, some sixteen miles from the site of their capture at Balchirie.

The fall of Patrick Roy

Knowing that the murder of Muiresk had placed them beyond the pale, MacGregor and his gang stepped up their criminal activities. For nearly a year they rampaged around the north-east in an orgy of violence and robbery that earned them the venomous condemnation of the contemporary minister of Wardlaw, James Fraser, who denounced MacGregor as 'a vile Scithian rude outlaw':

This notorious robber made the Carn of Mounth his haunt, so that all travellers made him homage. Fettercarn and that side of Anguis, till yow come to Eogal and Forfar, payed him tribute quhen



he pleasd ... At last he got a crew of Grigors and Gordons about him, so that he commands all that country ... betwixt Garmach and Findhorn was in such a fright of Patrick Roy as Rome was with her Hanniball.

Eventually, in February 1667, MacGregor mounted arguably the most audacious action of his career by trying to extort blackmail money from the Banffshire town of Keith. The community stoutly refused to yield, and so MacGregor decided on a show of strength. Heralded by a piper, he led a heavily-armed band of 30 to 40 men into the town and ostentatiously took up residence in an alehouse near to the bridge over the River Isla. He remained there for several hours, presumably waiting for the burgh to capitulate. Instead, cajoled by the local lairds Alexander Gordon of Glengarrock and John Ogilvie of Milton, the townsfolk organised themselves for a fight. When MacGregor's men left the alehouse around nine o'clock at night (spooked, according to one account, by news of the town's preparations), they were immediately set upon. After a series of running skirmishes, concentrated particularly around the bridge and the churchyard, a grievously-wounded MacGregor, his

Edinburgh tolbooth, a place of incarceration for criminals, many of whom were awaiting execution

gang scattered, was forced to flee into the surrounding countryside. Hours later the men of Keith caught up with him, and MacGregor, alongside one associate, Patrick Drummond, was quickly dispatched south to Edinburgh to meet his fate.

Once they reached the capital, MacGregor and Drummond became the subjects of immense interest from the privy council. At the end of February, and again at the start of March, the council, 'for the discovery of the many herships, thefts, slaughters and murders' attributed to him, took the unusual step of having MacGregor tortured using the 'boot', an ordeal that involved tightly encasing the lower leg in a metal sheath and then hammering in a series of wedges, slowly – and agonisingly – crushing the leg. The inevitable confession (obtained through an interpreter, since MacGregor spoke only Gaelic), although denying involvement in Muiresk's killing, was still sufficiently grisly for the councilors to recommend to the justice general, to whom they now sent him for trial, that, if convicted, MacGregor should be sentenced to have his right hand cut off before being put to death. And convicted he was; a jury had no hesitation in finding both him and Patrick

Drummond guilty at their trial on 25 March. Adhering the council's advice, the judge sentenced them to have their hands amputated, with execution to follow.

But MacGregor and Drummond did not die immediately. Two days after the trial, the privy council intervened again, indefinitely staying their executions. That order was reversed on 9 April 1668, but a new reprieve followed on 11 April. The grounds for these postponements was the long-standing rumour that MacGregor's spectacular criminal career had been sustained by patronage from powerful individuals in the north-east. Identifying these shadowy puppet-masters had been one of the aims of the judicial torture visited on MacGregor, although in this it had been unsuccessful. The questioning continued during the year they spent awaiting their deaths, with suspicion falling particularly on Charles Gordon, 1st earl of Aboyne, a rather unscrupulous member of the north-east aristocracy who was also an enemy of John Maitland, 2nd earl of Lauderdale, effective ruler of Scotland in Charles II's name. By 7 May 1668, the privy council was apparently satisfied that they had wrung from MacGregor and Drummond all the information they were going to get, and so once more sanctioned their deaths. Two more members of MacGregor's gang, Alasdair MacGregor and John Mackintosh, had been convicted in the meantime, and so the council additionally ordered that they would die alongside their erstwhile leader.

As they went to their deaths, on 13 May 1668, MacGregor and

his associates issued two separate declarations which, between them, provided plenty of material to oblige the enemies of Aboyne and the Gordons more generally. The first, given through ministers 'to declair to the people', admitted their guilt, affirmed the justness of the sentences against them and asked for their words to be widely publicised. It also stated firmly that all of their misdeeds had been committed under instruction from Aboyne. This latter assertion formed the kernel of the second declaration, which firmly implicated Aboyne and also claimed that he had attempted to bribe the prisoners into keeping their silence. Moreover, Aboyne was not the only member of the Gordon family at whom the condemned men pointed their fingers; the lairds of Baldornie and Strathbogie were similarly accused of helping direct the gang's criminal activities for their own benefit. Having thus provided ample ammunition to keep the Gordons' enemies happy, Patrick MacGregor, Patrick Drummond, Alasdair MacGregor and John Mackintosh finally met their fates at the hands of the Edinburgh executioner. Aboyne seems to have suffered no direct reprisals for his alleged sponsorship of the MacGregor gang, but the mere existence of MacGregor's confession was probably sufficient for Lauderdale and his allies; it was, after all, a useful tool for keeping Aboyne on a tight rein.

Conclusion

Neither Lachlan Mackintosh nor Patrick Roy MacGregor enjoyed the sort of posthumous rehabilitation undergone by Gilderoy or Rob Roy. They would remain simply criminals, and as such, their careers encapsulate many of the key dynamics of highland banditry as a broader phenomenon. Both men, as well as their accomplices, were 'broken men', landless vagabonds lacking alternative means of support. Their stock-in-trade was animal theft, but clustering in a group (which incidentally permitted them to tackle larger targets) allowed them to expand into other criminal activities, including extortion,

blackmail and murder. All this was typical of the bandit experience in early modern Scotland. At the same time, the persistent allegations of elite patronage that clung to them hint at a darker, more violent underbelly to Scottish lordly culture that historians have long recognised. Finally, the means of their downfall is instructive. Hubristic overreach undid both Mackintosh and MacGregor, but their deaths were also attributable to focused local resistance marshalled by regional grandees, often under the authority of central government but taking little active lead from the centre. The blood-spattered story of the Mackintosh-MacGregor gang, therefore, while exemplifying the violent, dangerous life of the highland bandit, also reflects the decentralised and highly localised nature of early modern Scottish society.

Dr Allan Kennedy is Lecturer in History at the University of Dundee, specialising in early modern Scotland, and is also consultant editor of History Scotland.

FURTHER READING

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The old bridge at Keith, close to where MacGregor and his men mounted an abortive attempt to blackmail the town, followed by his capture and arrest



GRAVEYARDS OF HOPES?

Project cataloguers **Lynn Bruce** and **Olivia Howarth** explore the reality for returning ex-servicemen and their families after the Great War through the Scottish World War I Pension Appeal Tribunal Papers, held by National Records of Scotland



In the heat of the second battle of the Marne in July 1918, Lance Corporal William Wilson of the Black Watch carried messages between his company and battalion headquarters. His route took him through woods and undergrowth saturated with gas, leaving his eyes scarred and his vision permanently impaired. As he waited with bandaged eyes to be evacuated, William may not have foreseen the battle for compensation he would face when he returned home.

War pensions were a vital source of income for disabled ex-servicemen like William, but many struggled to meet the strict eligibility criteria set by the ministry of pensions, leaving men dissatisfied with their treatment by the state. In 1919, pension appeal tribunals were established to allow ex-servicemen and their dependants to challenge these decisions. National Records of Scotland (NRS) holds around 30,000 tribunal records which cover the duration of Scottish tribunals from 1919 to 1932. Due to finish in 2020, a cataloguing project funded by the Wellcome Trust will make these records fully accessible for the first time.

Tribunal members used these case papers to help them decide whether or not an applicant received a pension. In addition to summaries of men's medical and service histories, the records include personal statements and letters which illustrate the experiences of ordinary ex-servicemen and their dependants. Most tribunal

claimants were unsuccessful and the perceived harshness of the system was raised repeatedly in parliament. The Scottish labour MP Manny Shinwell described the tribunals as 'graveyards of the hopes of many ex-service men', a sentiment that echoes throughout these records. Many applicants were prevented by their injuries from returning to their pre-war employment and they often wrote emotional and angry statements about their struggle to support their families.

So many appeals were unsuccessful because the burden of proof was placed upon applicants, who were frequently unable to demonstrate a history of illness. They may not have visited a doctor after the war, or their medical records during service may have been incomplete. William Wilson faced this problem when trying to prove how exposure to gas in 1918 had affected his eyesight. His evacuation had been carried out by the French army and was not recorded on his army medical card. In William's case, additional evidence provided by his commanding officer corroborated his statement and led to a successful appeal.

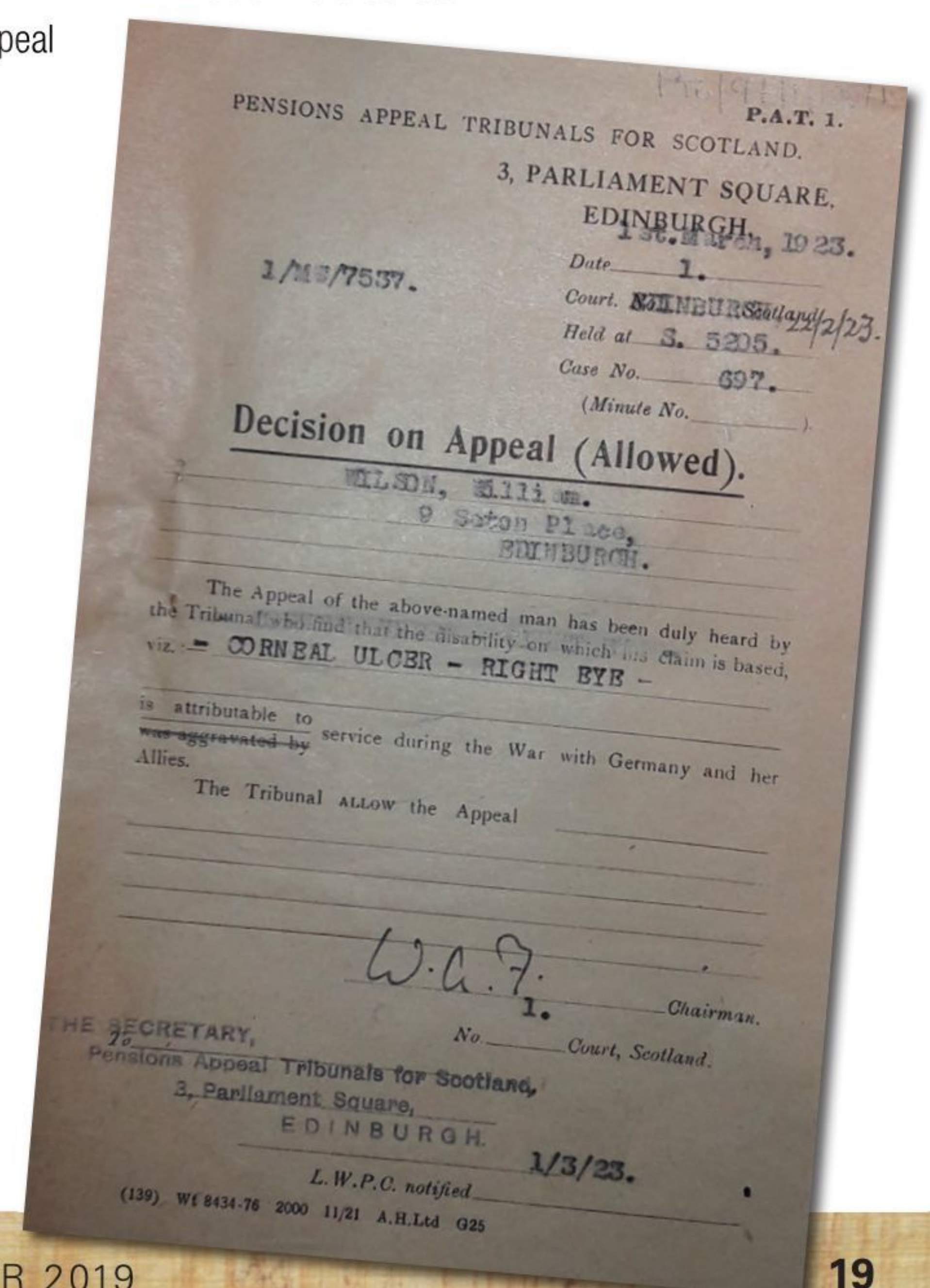
Throughout the collection, personal statements add colour and depth to administrative records, although not always with such happy results. The family of Private Felix McMulkin believed he had been shot after the armistice by a 'German who picked a quarrel with him'. However, the appeal by his mother, Mary McMulkin, reveals

The tribunal papers provide rich detail about the struggles that many servicemen faced on their return to civilian life

Lance Corporal William Wilson's decision paper, after additional evidence from his commanding officer resulted in a successful appeal

the truth was more complex. Felix's commanding officer explained to the tribunal that he had created this version of events to spare Mary's feelings. Felix had actually been killed by the German civil police when he had been caught looting.

Mary and William illustrate the complex and contradictory nature of stories in the records. For these men and their families, the war did not end with the armistice. We often view the Great War through the prism of commemoration and remembrance, focusing on servicemen who died rather than those who survived. However, nearly 90 per cent of those who served returned home. It is these histories that we are uncovering in the PT6 collection and, thanks to the combined efforts of NRS and The Wellcome Trust, these stories can soon be told.





A PLACE IN AVIATION HISTORY

Guthrie Ewing McGruer tells the remarkable tale of his grandfather's role in the success of the first non-stop crossing of the Atlantic, a century ago this summer

Above my dining room table suspended from an oak beam I have on display a length of polished and varnished wood, teardrop in shape, over two metres long and about 20cm in circumference. Despite its size it is so light it can be balanced on a child's index finger. Visitors are often intrigued by the wooden ornament, which has no outward sign of its provenance. They are even more intrigued when I tell them that this piece of nondescript timber has a very special place in world aviation history. For without it the first non-stop crossing of the Atlantic, the centenary of which was celebrated on 15 June, might quite literally have not taken off.

The object of such fascination is a replica of one of the wing struts used on the Vickers Vimy, a converted world war one bomber piloted by John Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown which made that historic first journey.

The reason the strut is so light is due to an invention patented by my grandfather, Ewing McGruer, in 1915.

Born in Glasgow in 1889, the eldest son of a boatbuilding family, he was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to the legendary Clydeside yacht designer Alfred Mylne. In his early 20s, by this time back with the family business now relocated to the Gareloch, Ewing was already creating a name for himself with innovative methods in yacht construction and design, particularly the use of spars in masts and booms for racing yachts. By carefully examining the end grain of a thin plank of sawn Sitka spruce, he found that where the angle of the grain was 45 degrees to each side of the plank it could be placed on a metal spindle, heated on one side with water applied to the other, enabling the wooden fibres to contract and expand respectively. The thin wood could then be bent or rolled around the spindle. Waterproof glue would be applied to each edge and planed off.

Clockwise from top left:
creating hollow spars,
c.1917-18

Making wireless masts
for flying boats,
July 1918

McGruer at his boatyard
in the 1960s and as a
young man

The bending process in
progress, 1918

In a pamphlet written several years later he said that this method produced a board which is 'flexible, stable but not rigid. It is elastic in the direction of width and shrinkage shakes are absent; it deforms [distorts] readily when required'. The new technique went by the name of the rolled hollow spar. Differing degrees of strength could be obtained by making up wooden tubes with two or more laminated coils. King George V's royal yacht *Britannia* had a McGruer rolled hollow spar boom 85 feet long with a circumference of seventeen inches and an inner wall of just three inches. It could have been even thinner but Ewing was advised to add another inch: 'better to be safe for the king, my boy'.

The move to military use

The design was revolutionary. Although various systems of creating hollow spars had gone on since the middle of the 19th century, it was the ability to bend the wood around a steel mandrel to create a lightweight

but immensely strong spar capable of withstanding great loads which was unique. It was possible to create rounded and more aerodynamic teardrop-shaped spars by altering the shape of the mandrel. The new invention quickly came to the attention of the war office. Although principally designed for and used in boatbuilding, its broader application was obvious. The McGruer Hollow Spar Company was formed on the banks of the Thames in 1916 and the firm made wing struts for many of the fighter and bomber biplanes deployed in France.

Other military uses included wrapping a torpedo in a hollow spar to add buoyancy – but how to bind wood to metal, my grandfather wondered? He said: ‘I had a Frenchman on my staff. We were good friends and chatting with him about my troubles he said “try garlic!” He knew! The secret is to apply a good coat of onion juice and let it harden overnight, it makes an excellent bond between the glue and the steel’. Hollow spars found use in more prosaic ways, as wireless masts, organ pipes, walking sticks, billiard cues, even the rugby posts at Twickenham and later, in 1924, for the hollow ice pick handles used in the Everest expedition led by George Mallory.

But back to the Vickers Vimy and the first Atlantic crossing. It was not just the wing struts that benefitted. The load-bearing longerons used to form the fuselage and interlongerons or supporting bracing were also made from hollow spars. With prize money at £13,000 for the first successful non-stop crossing (worth well over £1m today) there was considerable interest from many of those who had gained valuable flying experience in the war which had ended just a few months previously. Eleven entrants announced themselves, with five of those aircraft being fitted with McGruer hollow spars. By May 1919 only four were in the running. The shortest distance of just under 2,000 miles was between Newfoundland and Ireland, and it was this west-to-east crossing the aviators chose. Poor weather in the early summer eventually cleared and on the afternoon of 14 June, Alcock and Brown decided to go. Spectators report the aircraft bouncing down the makeshift runway (the competitors

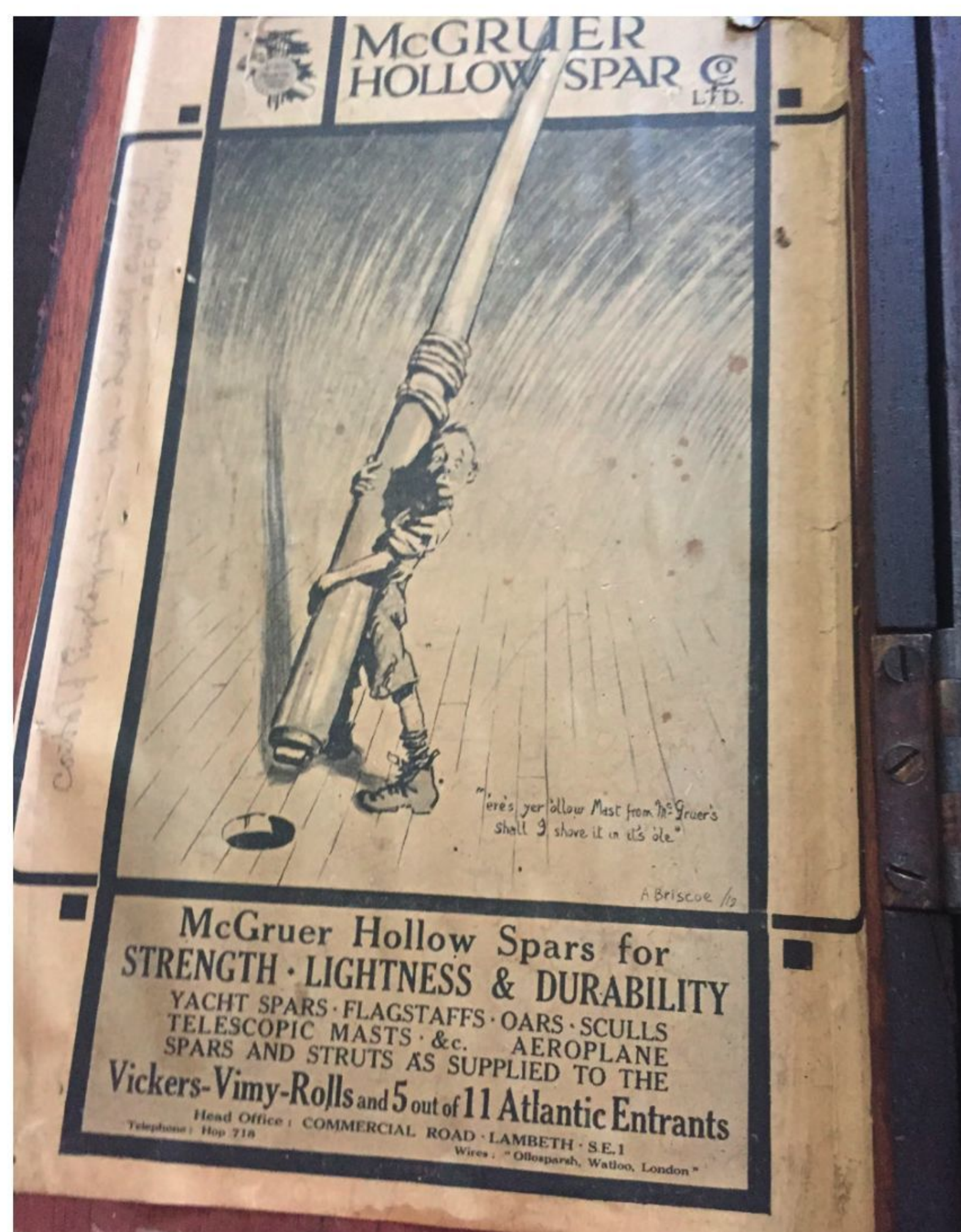
had to build their own take-off strip) only just making it into the air and then skimming the top of a row of trees.

Although the first few hours were uneventful the aviators soon encountered very poor weather with next to no visibility. About halfway across they flew into a snowstorm which quickly enveloped the cockpit, with the air filters starting to clog. Astonishingly, Brown clambered onto the wing, gripping onto the wing struts (they proved their strength) and cleared the filter. He then climbed over Alcock and carried out the same daredevil feat on the other engine. Shortly afterwards the snow relented but they hit dense cloud and the aircraft went into a tailspin. Somehow Alcock righted the plane but they were so close to disaster that Brown later said he could taste the foam of the ocean and hear the roar of the waves above the noise of the engines.

After nearly sixteen hours in the air the pair were near landfall. Looking for a landing spot over Galway, they sighted a green meadow and made to land. But the meadow was not a grassy field, it was a dense bog known as Derrygimla moor and the aircraft abruptly came to a halt, ending up nose first in the mud.

Feted as the heroes they undoubtedly were, John Alcock and Arthur Brown were knighted by the

An early advertisement for McGruer spars



king and received their financial prize from Winston Churchill. Later that year attempting to land in fog at the Paris airshow, Alcock was killed. After the Atlantic crossing Brown never flew again. He died in 1946.

Post war achievements

The McGruer Hollow Spar Company carried on in London after the war. However, in 1923 my grandparents with my father (then two years old) returned to the Gareloch, where Ewing took over the running of the family boatbuilding yard at Clynder and with his father and six younger brothers, created a name known throughout the sailing world. Construction techniques for aircraft quickly moved on, but the rolled hollow spar continued to be used in boatbuilding.

During the second world war Ewing worked for the admiralty, which had been relocated to Bath, designing motor torpedo boats. At 65, far too young to retire, he took up the post of boatbuilding officer in Edinburgh for the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust. He would send me postcards from all over Scotland and from mainland Europe, where he was invited to give lectures on wooden boatbuilding techniques. In 1964, as an eight-year-old, I attended with my grandmother his investiture at Buckingham palace where he was awarded the MBE for lifelong services to boatbuilding and to the Admiralty. My grandfather died in Edinburgh in 1966 only two months after having to retire (against his will) at 75.

The success of such an outstanding feat as that of John Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown depended on a whole range of factors: the courage of the two fearless aviators of course; the reliability of the Rolls Royce engines; the design and construction by Vickers of the aircraft; and many others. But I and my family in the UK and spread across the globe have always taken immense pride in the achievement of my grandfather in having a modest but important part in an extraordinary story 100 years ago.

Guthrie McGruer was born in Glasgow in 1955. Now living on the Welsh borders near Monmouth, he is a solicitor, having practised in London and Oxford for more than 35 years.

SOME EARLY VIEWS OF SCOTLAND

Professor Barry Baldwin takes a sweeping journey through European views of Scotland from the classical period up to the later middle ages, discovering priceless nuggets of information about early Scots in a wide range of Roman and Greek sources, as well as in the colourful musings of a 15th-century pope

O Scotland! Thee a double darkness mocks:
Thy name is Skotia
and thy teacher (k)nox!
I doubt a modern
'troll' could match such erudite abuse.

This is the only one of several such contemporary epigrams quoted without attribution by Geddes McGregor in his 1960 article 'John Knox: The Thundering Scot'. It is otherwise Google-resistant. That great author 'Anonymous' looks the best bet, although a number of Scottish poets of the 16th and 17th century, notably John Leech, specialised in epigrams attacking churchmen. Several in English and Latin are quoted by Thomas McCrie in his *The Life of John Knox* (1831), who rather mysteriously says that 'Batavian Youth' were fond of scribbling such verses.

Scotland: from the beginning

Scotland had a long history before we glimpse the Caledonians and Scotti, much less discern individual men and women. The general archaeological consensus places the earliest migrant-inhabitants in c.12,800 BC, with the earliest houses and villages developing respectively c.9000 BC and c.6000 BC. Notable early settlements are located at Skara Brae (Orkney) and Forteviot near Perth. There is speculation that proto-Scotland may have been part of a kind of bronze age European trading arrangement with England, France, Spain and Portugal. Whether any Anglo-demands for a Brexit ever simmered is open to seek!

A lone Greek adventurer may have been the first from the classical world to glimpse Scotland's

Skara Brae, one of Scotland's earliest settlements

coastline. Various Roman authors (1st century AD) air misty notions about its geography and inhabitants. It played no role in the British invasions of Julius Caesar who merely knocked off some southern English, nor in the second attack launched by Emperor Claudius (AD 43-51), which conquered the Welsh tribes.

This is the 'back-story' to the present essay, which follows the first Roman thrust by Agricola to spasmodic military encounters that prompted Hadrian and Antoninus to build their walls, a mark of Roman respect and/or fear of their mysterious northern foes. One of the Vindolanda Letters (written AD 97-103) speaks of the *Brittunculi* (Little Brits) and their unarmoured cavalrymen who use neither swords nor javelins. Between then and the official

Roman withdrawal from Britain (AD 410), there were centuries of fighting, consolidations and a growing interest in the civilian and military 'lifestyles' of the Scots. Individuals, male and female, start to make their voices heard. Close connections with the Irish coalesce in a literary mention of a Macbeth very different from 'the Scottish play'. Instead of the familiar figures of Bruce, Rob Roy and Wallace ('Braveheart'), this sketch picks out a number of lesser-known exotic individuals, culminating with the Scottish experiences of an Italian

visitor and future pope who, along with the previously-described Irish connections, might be thought a prehistoric element in the annals of Celtic F.C.

Pytheas of Marseilles (c.330 BC) may have circumnavigated Britain and glimpsed the Scottish coast and Orkneys. Unfortunately, only fragments of his log book remain, quoted by other authors, some (for example the Greek geographer Strabo) expressing scepticism. Pytheas, the first ancient to use the word *Bretannia* (Greekly transliterated from the Celtic), set

19th-century statue of Pytheas of Marseilles by Auguste Ottin, palace of the Bourse, Marseilles. Pytheas may have circumnavigated Britain in the 4th century BC

the pattern of complaining about the cold, frost and long winter darkness of the north and *Ultima Thule* (now the name of an ice-block in distant space). Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (c.AD 45) was the first to name and accurately locate the Orkneys. Poets Lucan and Juvenal cite Caledonians as paradigms of remoteness and short winter nights. Pliny the Elder was the first to employ the name Caledonia, inventorying 40 Orkneys and 30 Hebrides.

Who were these people?

The etymology of 'Caledonia' remains debatable. The Wikipedia list of possibilities omits one suggestion of 'Greek and Latin derived from the Celtic', raised in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1818, which suggests it derives from *Coilldhehdhuinth*, meaning 'inhabitants of the woods'. The same author also ridiculed the notion that *Scoti* come from the Pharaoh's daughter *Scota* as 'fabulous and extravagant' – few would disagree. Basing himself on Ptolemy's coordinates, Gilbert Markus confidently places the Caledonians in Perthshire, hence an originally local tribe's name may have extended to a national one.

The so-called 'Verona List' (c. AD 314) mentions *Scoti/Scotti* for the first time, also one of the last texts to mention Caledonians. Most famous and disputed is this passage in the Roman soldier-historian Ammianus Marcellinus: 'At that time [AD 368], the Picts divided into two tribes, called Dycalydones and Verturiones, also the warlike Attacotti and the Scots who were ranging widely wreaking havoc'. Were these *Scoti* Scottish or Irish? An old controversy; some have been convinced of the former, while others have just as firmly preferred the latter. It seems clear to me that the Scots are meant. Ammianus is describing the British situation in general, Scotland in particular. Picts speak for themselves. Dycaledones and Veteruriones are surely Scottish – Ptolemy in his *Geography* dubbed the sea west of Scotland as *Oceanus Duecaledonius*, further listing nineteen towns or brochs based on intelligence going back





to Agricola, albeit archaeological evidence is scant.

Attacotti also are variously categorised as Scotch or Irish. It is obvious from Ammianus that they were in Britain. Saint Jerome attributes to them cannibalism and holding women in common. A 1757 treatise, *De Situ Britanniae*, widely thought spurious, ‘confirmed’ that Attacotti resided in Scotland. Combining this with Jerome led Edward Gibbon to wonder ‘if, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals had really existed’. Furthermore, the Verturiones were

Statue on the facade of Como cathedral, Italy, depicting Pliny the Elder, the Roman author who inventoried 40 Orkneys and 30 Hebrides in the first century AD

linked with the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu, variously located around Strathearn or Moray and Easter Ross. As to Irish-Scottish links, the historical poem *The Prophecy of Berchan*, written in Middle Irish, contains a list of 24 Scottish kings, including this prediction: ‘Mac Bethad (Macbeth), the glorious king of Fortriu, will take Scotland’.

There is one last word to be said on *Scoti/Scotti*. If they were Scots, then Ammianus’ description of them as *per diversa vagantes* (‘wandering over wide areas’) might be thought the earliest reference to hunting for lost golf balls!

Roman encounters

Scotland bursts into Roman history and literature via the *Agricola*, composed by son-in-law Tacitus’ biography of Gnaeus Julius Agricola, governor of Britain (AD 77-85), first definite circumnavigator of Britain (in Julius Caesar’s time, Plutarch says many doubted the island’s existence, whilst the 6th-century Byzantine historian Procopius declared it was a ghost island populated by the dead – some modern visitors to England might agree), and first Roman invader of Scotland.

Excerpting the salient sections, Tacitus begins by describing the Caledonians as having red hair and large limbs. This trichological hue is also mentioned by Eumenius in an oration (AD 297), with concomitant reference to Picts fighting half-naked. Red hair, regarded by Aristotle as indicative of bad character, suggests early Rob Roys. There follows the earliest-recorded complaint about British weather: ‘The climate is miserable with its constant rain and mist,’ adding the conventional detail about short northern nights.

Agricola’s advance beyond the Forth was occasioned by his fear of northern invasions. The decisive battle of Mons Graupius (its exact location still much argued over) and consequent desolation are obviously comparable to Culloden. It also introduces the first-known Scotsman into history, the chieftain (apparently first among peers) Calgacus, his name seemingly from Gaelic *calgach* meaning ‘sword’. The speech put into his mouth is obviously a Tacitean confection; Scottish chieftains did not urge on their followers in polished Latin. It is notable, though, that Tacitus thought his famous epigram on Roman imperialism – ‘they make a desolation and call it peace’ – appropriate to a ‘barbarian’s’ lips. Also noteworthy is the absence of any depreciation of the Scots, and no attributions of curious and reprehensible practices such as those presently to be quoted from later authors over the centuries.

In Plutarch’s essay on the ‘Decline of Oracles’, there is a

Greek grammarian, Demetrius, who visited Britain in AD 83. This contemporary of Agricola visited and described a number of islands, both sacred to local deities and bereft of inhabitants. A number of these look identifiable with (for notable instance) the Orkneys, said by the 3rd-century Roman geographer Solinus to be occupied solely by bushes, rocks and sands.

Build the wall!

Hadrian's wall is relevant, in that it was presumably built as a defence against northern invaders (Kipling adverts to this in *Puck of Pook's Hill*), though the one surviving reference to it in Latin literature is a single sentence in that most unreliable of sources, the collection of imperial biographies we call (after Causabon) the *Augustan History*. This merely mentions its construction without detail or stated purpose. Significantly, it was constructed well south of Agricola's new frontier. Neil Faulkner sees Hadrian's wall as also a cultural statement: this

side civilization, the other side barbarians – classic English canard.

Hadrian's immediate successor, Antoninus Pius, was quick to extend the frontier further north by constructing the turf wall named after him between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, roughly 40 miles linking Edinburgh and Glasgow, something their modern descendants might not welcome.

The *Augustan History* and contemporary Greek travel writer Pausanias both say Antoninus' wall was a response to attacks by the Brigantes, a tribe centred on Yorkshire but extending over Lancashire and the north-east. They had been under the Roman eye for a while: Juvenal satirically has a father advise his son to win military glory by attacking them. Though briefly re-occupied on more than one occasion, the Antonine wall had a short innings. By the early 3rd century, the Romans had permanently withdrawn to Hadrian's wall, marking the end of any future Caledonian excursions.

Hadrian's wall, whose construction is mentioned in the unreliable *Augustan History*, was seemingly built as a defence against northern neighbours

Caledonian crossroad and a queenly quine

An historical and literary watershed is achieved by the invasion in 208 of Emperor Septimius Severus. Apart from the military narrative, we have the first attempts by contemporary Roman-based Greek historians Dio Cassius and Herodian, plus the aforementioned *Augustan History* and Solinus, to describe the nature and customs ('life-style') of the Caledonians. A fusion of the sources provides a narrative both composite and disparate. The *Augustan History* says the Scottish campaign was Septimius Severus' crowning glory, earning him the title *Britannicus*. It tantalisingly adds that he built a new wall 'across Britain from sea to sea'. Modern historians take this not to be a brand-new construction, but refurbishment of either the Antonine wall or Hadrian's.

Dio Cassius estimates that the Romans then occupied about half of Britain, with Severus wishing to subjugate the rest. Accordingly, he attacked 'the two principal tribes', Caledonians and Maetae, the latter



modernly thought to have occupied land between Dumyat and Myot Hill. Although subjected to near-genocidal violence, the tribes put up fierce resistance, killing some 50,000 Roman soldiers. The usual thick fogs impeded the invaders, as did the nifty trick (worthy of Hannibal) of blocking their advance with flocks of sheep – at least they were not cowed! Perhaps suitably, the now aged and ailing Severus would expire in 211 in Brigantian territory at York, Roman *Eboracum*, this name commemorated by the Ebor Handicap horse-race.

Dio preserves a priceless non-military nugget of information, namely the first authentic-looking utterance by a Scot. When Severus and his empress, Julia Domna, met with local chieftain Argentocoxos and his unnamed wife, the Roman harridan denounced Caledonian women for their sexual immorality. She received this spirited reply: ‘We fulfil the needs of nature much better than you Roman women, for we consort openly with the best men whilst you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the worst’. In literary terms, this constitutes a rejoinder to the standard (as far back as Herodotus in the 5th century BC) accusations by Greek and Roman writers that all ‘barbarians’ hold their women in common. Her retort has earned her a spot in the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (2007).

Scottish lifestyles

Dio’s vignette (omitting the military details) runs thus:

Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate swampy plains. They have no walls or cities. Instead of tilled fields, they live on their flocks, wild game and certain fruits, though will not eat the fish which abound there. They live in tents, naked with no footwear, indulge in common copulations and collectively rear all the consequent children.

Herodian both endorses and supplements this sketch:

Of course they are nearly naked and do not mind the mud because they

are not used to clothes, also adorning their waists and necks with iron which they value as ornaments and signs of wealth, as other barbarians do gold. They also tattoo their bodies with various patterns and pictures of all sorts of animals. This is why they go naked, not wanting to cover up these decorations.

Two Roman writers, the near-contemporary Solinus and the much later (560–636) Isidore of Seville, canonised in 1997 by Pope John Paul II as patron saint of the internet, offer their distinctive (here abbreviated) versions. First, Solinus:

The Scots were always barbaric, rough and warlike. When baby boys are born, their fathers offer their first food on spear-points to inculcate a preference to die fighting for freedom. When they grow up, they celebrate victories by drinking the blood of fallen enemies and smearing it over their faces. They are noble people, frugal in food, savage in spirit, stern of face, rough in speech, though courteous to each other, enjoying games and hunting, preferring these to work.

Pope Pius II, author of a colourful travelogue about his 1435 mission to Scotland which spoke of ‘two countries: one cultivated, the other woody with no open land

After likening in Scots to the Irish in all regards, and with the same concentration on their determination to die fighting for freedom, Isidore amplifies: ‘They rarely eat before sunset, generally content with meat and dairy produce. Although handsome in appearance and fair of face, they spoil their looks by their characteristic dress’. Kilts, perhaps? At least, no nudity here.

Between Solinus and Isidore comes Saint Jerome who in his diatribe against the ‘heretic’ Jovinian reverts to some time-honoured accusations allied to above:

I myself, on a visit to Gaul, heard that the Attacotti, a British tribe, eat human flesh and that, although they have herd of swine and droves of cattle, it is their custom to cut off the buttocks of shepherds and the breasts of women, regarding these as the greatest of delicacies. The Scots have no wives of their own, having apparently read Plato’s Republic, but like beasts indulge their lust to their hearts’ content.

For different reasons, this lurid information may be of equal interest to Nicola Sturgeon and Alexander McCall Smith.

According to Juvenal, British lawyers had a reputation for loquacity – Rumpoles in togas? But no individual writer or thinker emerged from Anglia, certainly no-one to compete with Pelagius (b. 354–60). Saint Jerome excoriated him as a person ‘stuffed with Scottish porridge’ (*Scotorum pultibus progravatus*), which played havoc with his memory. He is also ridiculed for having the appearance of a big, fat alpine dog, a likeness completed by his ‘weird’ hair-style. Pelagius earned these disapprobations for denying Augustine’s notion of original sin. A shame he lost the debate in kirk eyes to his African opponent: humanity would have been spared much misery.

So far, we have met the first individual Scotsman (Calgacus), the first Scotswoman (anonymous wife of Argentocoxos), and the first Scottish minister. Now (perhaps) the first and only Scotsman to feature in Byzantine



history, in its final moments. This is Johannes (John) Grant, an engineer who assisted the defence of Constantinople in the Ottoman siege of 1453 by use of counter-tunnelling. Contemporary Greek and Latin sources thought him German but the doyen of Byzantine studies, Sir Steven Ranchman, laird of Eigg, resident in his last decades in a peel tower in Dumfries and buried at Lockerbie, made a plausible case for his Scottishness in *The Fall of Constantinople* (1965).

The Italian jobber

Our final Scottish panorama is provided by a person who began life (1405) as (in Latinised style) Aeneas Silvius and ended it (1458-64) as Pope Pius II. According to his memoirs, he was sent in 1435 on a secret mission to Scotland by Cardinal Albergi of Siena. Its purpose is understandably not disclosed. Most probably, it was to persuade King James II into activities against England, which he had visited first. If so, he failed.

You would expect a colourful narrative from someone already notorious for writing (in Latin) an erotic novel and many licentious verses. Furthermore, he fathered in Scotland an illegitimate son who conveniently died. So, no great surprise to find him hiding from robbers in a tower with 100 women. His story unfolds:

Late at night, two young women showed a sleepy Aeneas to a straw-strewn chamber, hinting their willingness to sleep with him, as the local custom was. But, he repulsed them, remaining alone amongst the nanny-goats and heifers, which prevented him from getting a wink of sleep by pulling the straw from his pallet. Soon after midnight, the dogs and geese began to bark and hiss noisily, causing the women to scatter and his guide to flee, all thinking the robbers had arrived. Aeneas thought it best to stay put, reckoning if he ventured outside, he would be caught. Presently, the women and his guide returned, saying the newcomers were friends. Aeneas took this to mean a reward for his continence.

Quite. This passage redounds to his credit, not against it. And, TWO willing girls: this surely explodes the myth of Scottish meanness.

For more orthodox travelogue, it would be hard to beat the following blend of concision and vivacity:

Here is what is worth knowing about Scotland. It is an island joined with England, facing North, 200 miles long, 50 wide, a cold country with few crops and largely treeless. There is a sulphurous rocky below ground where they mine for fuel. Its towns have no walls, the houses are practically without mortar, roofs are made from turf and in the country doorways are covered with ox-hides. The people are poor and backward. They gorge on meat and fish, but treat bread as a luxury. The men are short but brave, the women blonde, beautiful, and randy - a female kiss here is as routine as a handshake in Italy. There is no native wine, only imported. Their horses are all small pacers. They breed a few and castrate the rest. They do not curry them with iron or groom them with wooden combs or use bridles. The oysters found there are bigger than the English ones. Pearls, leather, wool and pickled fish are exported from Scotland to Belgium ... Scotland is in essence two countries: one cultivated, the other woody with no open land. The natives in this latter part speak a different language and on occasion are reduced to tree bark for food. There are no wolves in Scotland. Crows are rare, so much so that the trees in which they nest are deemed the property of the king. During the winter solstice which was the time I was there, Scotland only had four hours of daylight.

One could almost be reading Samuel Johnson on his Scottish foray. In a separate manuscript, Silvius added: 'Before I went to Scotland, I had heard that certain trees grew there along a river whose fruit rotted if it fell on the ground but if into the water it came alive and turned into birds. However, when I eagerly investigated this miracle on the spot, I found it was all nonsense or, if true, had all migrated to the Orkneys'. This is early evidence for the legend of the Bernacle birds associated a little later (1599)

with Ireland by explorer Richard Hakluyt: 'There stand certain trees upon the shore of the Irish Sea, bearing gourd-like fruit, which does fall into the water and become birds called Bernacles'.

To highlight it for modern Scottish delectation, I have deliberately postponed this sentence from between Aeneas' account of the country's exports and double nature: 'There is nothing the Scots like listening to more than abuse of the English'. Some things never change...

Educated at Lincoln School and Nottingham University, Barry Baldwin is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Calgary. He has written twelve books, innumerable academic, magazine and newspaper articles and dozens of short stories.

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The Eyemouth Disaster



The Eyemouth fishing disaster of 1881 took place as a result of a storm of epic proportions, but the weather was not entirely to blame; economic forces were also at work, writes **David Wibberley**

On 14 October 1881 Scotland witnessed Britain's worst ever fishing disaster; a disaster that could have been avoided and a tragic event that was decades in the making.

On that bright, sunny, almost windless morning, most of the fishing boats on Scotland's North Sea coast had tied up at port. A storm was brewing – not just any storm, but a European cyclone with hurricane-force winds. The Eyemouth skippers, however, along with a number of fishermen from nearby ports, ignored the weather warnings and set out at the crack of dawn. By midday they were in the teeth of a severe storm for which their wooden boats were no match.

By the time the storm abated, 26 of Eyemouth's 46 fishing boats were lost, along with 189 fishermen, 129 of them the town's menfolk.

The Eyemouth fishing disaster, or 'Black Friday', was reported in the *Edinburgh Evening News* on 15 October:

A storm of extraordinary violence set in on Thursday night and raged for the greater part of yesterday all over the country, causing great destruction to property and loss of life. All telegraphic communication between Scotland and the Metropolis was broken down by the wreckage of the wires and in several

parts of the country similar isolation has occurred.

Many of the fishing boats capsized; others were wrecked on the rocky coastline, and on the run back to shore many failed to make it into Eyemouth's antiquated and poorly-maintained harbour. Despite the state of the harbour, fishing was an essential part of the local economy in Eyemouth: the men went fishing and the women supported them by baiting the lines and repairing nets.

To find the real cause of the disaster we must go back to 1618, when, because of its historic association with nearby Coldingham abbey, Eyemouth was elevated to parochial status, one of the smallest parishes in Scotland. At some time after this point the church began to exert a fish tithe on the local fishing fleet. What once had been a free gift, periodically offered by fishermen for religious solace had become a recognised obligation as the church established its right to a proportion of the catch, which became part of the vicarage tithe.

In the 18th century, the fish tithe dwindled to a negligible level and was changed to a fixed annual payment (referred to as a *modus*) of £20. Eyemouth's economy was transformed by the herring boom of the post-Napoleonic era. The town became wholly dependent on the

Eyemouth Disaster memorial at the village of Cove by sculptor Jill Wilson, showing families awaiting the return of their loved ones

success or failure of the summer herring and winter haddock seasons. The fishing fleet expanded from eight relatively small boats in 1818 to 26 much larger boats by 1854.

Each vessel paid the *modus*, boosting the church's income. In the summer months the number of vessels increased with the arrival of boats from as far afield as Caithness and Cornwall, all wanting a share of the rich herring catch.

The Reverend John Turnbull, incumbent from 1825, never exacted large amounts of fish tithe and he found extreme difficulty in collecting even modest sums. Being a native of Eyemouth, Turnbull knew all too well how the locals hated the tithe and the negative effect it had on religious observance.

This problem was exacerbated by the arrival of the primitive methodists in 1834 and the warm reception given to the united secessionist in 1841, distancing further the established church.

In the 1840s the fishing industry in Scotland had changed; bigger boats were fishing deeper waters and markets were developing both at home and abroad. Fishing communities like Eyemouth, that were situated on tidal creeks, either moved towards better facilities to share in this prosperity, or else faced regression and stagnation. Development depended on the

number of boats paying harbour revenues, the level of which set the levels of loans for expansion. Only a clear demonstration of success could persuade prospective investors or government agencies, such as the board of fisheries, to finance essential harbour developments.

The parish of Eyemouth was too small to provide even a minimal loan security of the kind that was needed, and, paradoxically while the fishing industry had expanded, harbour revenue had fallen. Bad management had saddled the harbour trust with a debt of £2,000, and the service payments on this left little money for even routine maintenance.

The financial situation was made worse by the fact that because of their ancient and traditional vicarage tithes, fishing boats paid no dues at Eyemouth harbour. Clearly if fish tithes either ceased to be demanded or were abolished altogether, then through some form of fiscal restructuring the harbour could be put on a sounder financial footing.

By 1843 the established church was in a distinct minority and there seemed to be no moral reason for the tithe to continue. Additionally, Eyemouth's merchants were concerned that if the tithe was not removed then boats would use alternative quays to land their lucrative catches.

In June 1845 a new vicar, the Reverend Stephen Bell, took charge of the established church at Eyemouth and set about transforming the town through the

promotion of social institutions such as a savings bank, library, lectures, and prayer meetings.

Bell petitioned the fishery board for an annual grant in the order of £75 to replace the hated fish tithe. In turn the fishery board put a powerful appeal to the treasury on the merits of the case, drawing on observations of the local fishery officer that: 'This fish tithe has been one cause of irreligion, drunkenness and imprudence which seems unfortunately to be prevalent among the fishermen of Eyemouth and prevents many boats from entering the port'.

The treasury were unmoved. In June 1854 the presbytery instructed Bell to demand full tithes from all Eyemouth boats pursuing herring, whether crew members had paid the *modus* or not. By flying in the face of tradition, this order disregarded age-old exemptions guaranteed by *modus* payment, and moreover Bell was also ordered to collect a half tithe from visiting boats, threatening the entire trade at the port.

In the summer of 1855, when Bell attempted to levy the herring tithe as instructed by the presbytery, he was prevented from doing so by the physical obstruction of the fishermen. The dispute escalated with the emergence of the charismatic fishermen's leader William Spears, known locally as 'the kingfisher'. He took on the kirk with a vengeance, there were near riots in the streets of Eyemouth, debt collectors were beaten up,

the church was broken into and eventually a 'fishermans' covenant' was drawn up, with cavalry troops and naval gunships consequently sent to the Scottish Borders in case things got out of hand.

Finally, in 1864 it was agreed that the tithes would be dropped in favour of a lump sum to the church. In the meantime, Eyemouth harbour continued to be in a state of serious disrepair. Harbour dues had not been paid and the church continued taking tithes from the fishermen. The port did not qualify for much-needed government repair grants and was effectively bankrupt. It was against this background that the cash-strapped Eyemouth fleet felt the need to take risks and sailed into disaster.

Much work had been done to promote the interests of the port and at the time of the tragedy, an extensive plan for the development of the harbour had been produced and a loan of £80,000 had been requested from the government. It seemed, at last, that Eyemouth, so long diverted by the fish tithe issue, was going to be able to provide facilities to rival the northern ports and south-east Scotland, would share in an economic boom. Successive government reports noted that the town was the very key to the coast, ideal for fishery and trade expansion.

It was against this background of events that the fishing fleet set out on that ill-fated October morning.

Over 100 years after the disaster, in 1997, Eyemouth was given EU funding from a scheme to regenerate declining fishing villages and raised matching funds itself to construct a deep-water extension to the harbour. Had there been a decent harbour in 1881, then the carnage would certainly have been far less; in fact it may well never have happened at all. The generations robbed of life by the consequences of Black Friday would have been born to enrich the town and its unique community. Eyemouth today would have been a different place.

David Wibberley is a writer and historian based in the north-east of England, with a keen interest in social and economic history.

Eyemouth harbour today





THE MEIC UILLEIM RISINGS

History Scotland's consultant editor, **Dr Allan Kennedy**, looks at the Meic Uilleims, a family of pretenders to the Scottish throne who, styling themselves champions of Gaelic Scotland, repeatedly challenged the MacMalcolm kings in the late 12th and early 13th centuries



Malcolm III, the vanquisher of MacBeth, came to the Scottish throne in 1058.

The line he founded, variously known as the 'Canmore', 'Dunkeld' and 'MacMalcolm' dynasty, ruled Scotland until 1286, overseeing the country's emergence as a mature high-medieval kingdom. But while enjoying a reputation for vigour and strength, the MacMalcolm kings did not rule unopposed. Resistance to their aggressive, expansionist policies was often widespread, particularly in outlying parts of Scotland, and probably their most formidable rival was another dynasty that, for more than a century, curated an alternative claim to the crown – the Meic Uilleims.

The Meic Uilleim claim was rooted in the succession crisis precipitated by Malcolm III's death in 1093. Although Malcolm's eventual successors were three of his sons by his second wife, St Margaret – Kings Edgar (1097-1107), Alexander I (1107-24) and David I (1124-53) – the throne had in the interim been occupied briefly by Duncan II (1094), Malcolm's

William I of Scots, against whom the Meic Uilleims presented themselves as champions of Gaelic Scotland

son by his first wife, Ingibiorg. But Duncan II had a son of his own, and although this heir, named William, seems to have been content to leave the kingship to his half-uncles, his descendants – styling themselves the 'Meic Uilleims' (Anglicised as 'MacWilliams') – were not so passive.

These later Meic Uilleims were able to press their claims because William himself had, prior to his death in the 1150s, built up a power-base in northern Scotland, possibly taking possession of the important earldom of Moray. When King William I (1165-1214) began tightening royal control over this region in the 1160s and 1170s, the Meic Uilleims were able to present themselves as both champions of Gaelic Scotland and guarantors of Moravian autonomy, and in this capacity they seem to have attracted considerable support from those who stood to lose out in the face of the king's expanding power.

Meic Uilleim-led resistance may already have been gathering pace by the later 1170s, but it was in 1181 that Donald Meic Uilleim, taking advantage of the king's temporary absence in France, launched a full-scale rising. He seems to have taken almost complete control of both Moray and Ross, and by 1186 government control in the north was so tenuous that the Meic Uilleims were able to launch a raid as far south as Coupar Angus. It took a huge royal effort, culminating in a battle at the unidentified site of 'Mam Garvia' in 1187, during which Donald Ban himself was killed, to put down the rebellion.

The Meic Uilleims were not yet defeated, however. Donald's sons, who had fled into exile following their father's defeat, returned to

Scotland in 1211 to renew the challenge. Several royal campaigns succeeded in capturing one son, Guthred, who was quickly executed, but the other, Donald Bàn, remained at large, and led a renewed push against the young Alexander II (1214-49) in 1214-45, again raising much of Ross and Moray. This time, it was the action of a rival regional magnate, Fercher mac an t-Sagairt, that undid the Meic Uilleims, and following his defeat of them, Fercher sent the heads of Donald Bàn and some of his main supporters southwards as a gift for the king.

The defeat of Donald Bàn was not quite the end of the Meic Uilleim challenge. Despite the inexorable tightening of royal authority over the northern territories under Alexander II's energetic leadership, sporadic disorders continued in Moray throughout the 1210s and 1220s, culminating in the burning of Abertarff castle, held by one of Alexander's vassals, in 1228. The king rushed north in person to crush this latest insurgency, which he did with characteristic ruthlessness. By 1230, every remaining Meic Uilleim, including a baby girl whose brains were dashed out on the mercat cross of Forfar, had been killed, and a century-old challenge to the MacMalcolm kings was finally extinguished.

FURTHER READING

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R. Andrew McDonald:
<https://scot.sh/outlaws>

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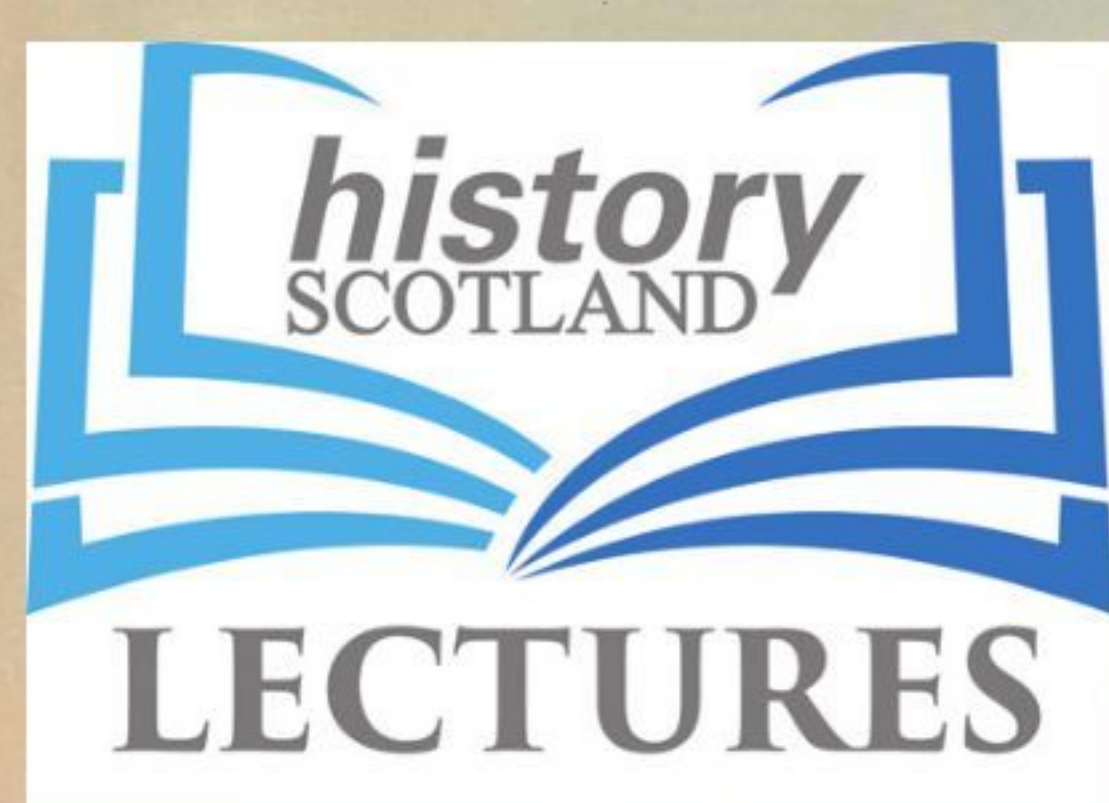
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Global Scotland in the age of Brexit



In this article based on her *History Scotland* lecture, delivered in April 2019, **Professor Tanja Bueltmann** explores Scotland's long history of global interaction, and considers what this international outlook might mean in the context of Brexit

In this article, I want to take you on a little bit of a journey, a journey with a few Scottish migrants who chose to build their homes overseas. A journey of ongoing connections with Scotland, the old homeland. A journey of global Scotland. This journey, and the historical perspectives it entails, can tell us not only about the Scottish diaspora, but also goes some way towards explaining Scotland's different attitudes towards both migration and the European Union in the context of Brexit.

John Jack's story

Our journey begins in Dundee in 1828. That year, in October, John Jack was born. In 1854, he married Helen Matthew Whitson. The two soon started a family and later moved to Edinburgh. So their story was already one of migration – albeit it a very short one – from Dundee to Edinburgh. But in the early 1880s the family decided to migrate much further afield, to New Zealand.

In late October 1883, the Jack family, John, Helen, and their

Brunswick dock pictured in the mid 19th century. This was the East India export dock and the import dock was dug out parallel to it. The Jack family departed from the docks in November 1883, embarking upon a three-month sea voyage to New Zealand

two sons John Hill Hunter and James Whitson, left their home in Edinburgh for the port of Leith. Their luggage had already been packed and was delivered, ahead of the family, to the *SS Iona* anchored in Leith harbour, the vessel which was to take them to London. From there, the Jacks were to embark on a three-month journey to New Zealand.

The departure in Edinburgh was a sad event. Aware of the finality of the Jacks' decision to emigrate, Peter Gardner, a family friend, observed how unlikely it was that they would see each other again 'in the flesh'. Befitting the occasion, someone had brought 'a nice cake'.

After an unexpected delay of three weeks in London, the Jacks were pleased when they could finally leave their hotel, 'a close dirty place', to take up their quarters on board the *Invercargill*. The ship was bound for Wellington. With a mixture of anxiety and anticipation, John Jack and his sons perambulated the London docks for one last time before the family finally left the British isles on 19 November 1883.

Writing of the departure, John noted that after 'much cheering and waving of handkerchiefs, away we went from the East India Dock'.

Travelling as cabin passengers, the family no doubt journeyed in relative comfort. New friendships were quickly formed aboard the ship, particularly with fellow Scots; the sharing of cultural pursuits and the death of a fellow passenger contributed to the emergence of a firm bond and a collegial spirit, all passengers bound for a new life and venturing into the unfamiliar.

The 'near diaspora'

We will return to the Jacks later. While their story of long-distance migration is a familiar example of long-distance migration, Scots did not really start doing this in large numbers until the 19th century age of mass migration. Prior to that, many relocated closer to home and this could be an internal migration in Scotland, or into what we can describe as the 'near diaspora', in England or continental Europe.

But nearness does not necessarily mean familiarity. As Scottish writer

Robert Louis Stevenson said:

It is not only when we cross the seas that we go abroad... A Scotsman may tramp the better part of Europe and the United States, and never again receive so vivid an impression of foreign travel and strange lands and manners as on his first excursion into England.

Recognition of the near diaspora is important here not just because it was the first destination of many Scots, but also because it was where their ethnic associations, later a common feature of the Scottish diaspora, first developed. While ethnic in their foundations, there are important ways in which they were distinctly civic, not ethnic. And that brings us to their birthplace in 17th-century London.

The earliest Scottish society that formalised its activities was an association initially known as the Scots Hospital or Corporation. The association was proposed by a Scottish merchant in the mid-17th century, and, with backing from other Scots at court, received a royal charter in 1665. The roots of this association, however, lay even earlier in the 17th century, when a so-called 'Scots box' was set up. This essentially served as a mutual benefit society – with the aid coming out of the box, so to speak, which was kept to collect funds for relief purposes. The Scots box was set up to provide support for Scots in

The Scots box was set up to provide support for Scots in London who had fallen ill or were otherwise in need of support

London who had fallen ill or were otherwise in need of support. In part this was a direct result of the fact that Scots who lived in the city were not entitled to parish relief.

The 1799 account of the corporation's establishment provides a clear view on this motivation behind the Scots box, noting that while the number of Scots in London had increased significantly with the ascension to the English throne of James VI and I, they

were still aliens in the land which they were helping to people and enrich... No claim to parochial assistance had been established, and of course no provision made for the dark season of life. To beg, or to perish, was the dreadful alternative.

The situation was perceived to be so problematic it 'was sensibly felt and deplored' that 'the more affluent of the Scottish Nation, resident in London, found themselves prompted by compassion to take the case of

the poor into serious consideration, and to devise a remedy'. The Scots box was a first step in doing so.

What makes the Scottish Corporation of particular interest to my work is that it was directly connected to the remote Scottish diaspora through some of its members. We often struggle to see how people were connected before Facebook, but they certainly were – and across vast distances. Ethnic and other associations were a significant facilitator of these connections.

This becomes tangible through the Kinloch bequest by William Kinloch, a merchant of Calcutta. As was detailed in his will:

The residue of my estate... I will and bequeath may be lodged in the British funds at interest, under the management of the Governor and Managers of the fund instituted in London, for the relief of poor and indigent Scotchmen; and that the interest of this residue of my estate, may be received annually... [to] be paid annually to poor and disabled Scotchmen in distress, who may have lost their legs, or arms, eyesight, or otherwise wounded in the army or navy, in the service of their country.

Kinloch provides a particularly powerful example of what we can begin to see was a sense of global citizenry as he did not just make a bequest to the Scottish hospital. Born in Arbuthnot, the *New Statistical Account for Scotland* documents that Kinloch also gave money to support 'the native poor of the parish of Arbuthnot... by deed of bequest, to receive the claims of the several applicants, and then aid them as they shall see cause'.

Generally the Scottish Corporation in London pursued a broad spectrum of philanthropic initiatives that included the provision of pensions

Wellington, New Zealand, as it would have looked when the Jacks lived there



for the elderly, relief for the destitute and sick, but, at times, also funds to enable a migrant's return to Scotland. Later in the 19th century, the tradition of the 'Caledonian ball' gained momentum.

North America

From these roots in London ethnic associations of the Scots spread to North America, and it was there that

Scottish nation whome we may see cause to helpe'.

As the Boston Society's rules state, the founders were particularly encouraged by the success of a Scots Society in London. For the Scots, the primary carriers of this philanthropic tradition were the many St Andrew's societies that were established in the course of the 18th century and beyond.

evening of their arrival [in Montreal] 76 survivors found home in the building'. One of them was David Milne from Glasgow. 'This poor fellow', the *Montreal Herald* reported, 'after struggling long to save himself and family, unfortunately lost them all – consisting of his wife and five children – but one, a little boy of seven years old, he saved and had with him'. There was also Peter McColl, aged nine, whose parents died in the tragedy. Further to providing shelter and support at the new home, the St Andrew's Society also arranged for the burial of the fifteen victims of the tragedy who had been brought to Montreal.

While this sort of philanthropy was central, associationalism could also involve the provision of other kinds of services, often targeted at specific groups. Thus, the Scottish Old People's Home in Riverside, Illinois provided specialist care for elderly Scots. Indeed, these associations might even step in to provide social services where the state had failed. The best example of this is New York, where various ethnic associations, including Scottish ones, formed the Board of United Charities in 1870 to look after new arrivals coming in through Ellis Island and elsewhere.

Not everybody was looking for charity, however. Developments were often quite different among working-class migrants, as can be seen from the Sons of Scotland. This Canadian group, founded in the 1870s, rejected philanthropy as a

Sons of Scotland, a Canadian group founded in the 1870s, rejected philanthropy as a central mission, and instead focused on mutual aid

both English and Scots established wide networks of clubs that were connected not just within the US, but also across the world.

The first Scottish association to be established in North America was the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston, which was set up in 1657. What makes the organisation all the more interesting for this investigation is that it was modelled on the Scottish Corporation in London: ideas of ethnic associationalism crossed the Atlantic with the first migrants. In Boston, objectives followed this London society's philanthropic remit, offering 'benevolence... for the releefe of our selves being Scottishmen or for any of the

17th-century London, around the time that the Scots Hospital was set up to provide support for Scots in London who fell on hard times. At times the organisation raised funds to enable a migrant's return to Scotland

While there was a strong element of sociability to these groups, for example in the form of annual balls, their often elite membership consistently saw it as their duty to help fellow Scotsmen in distress. We can see this quite clearly if we consider an incident that took place in Montreal in 1857. On 26 June, the steamer *Montreal*, carrying a large number of Scottish passengers, most of whom had recently arrived in Quebec from the Clyde, sank on the St Lawrence River.

When hearing of the disaster, the Montreal St Andrew's Society decided that the charitable home it was then still refurbishing had to be 'opened and furnished, and on the



central mission, and instead focused on mutual aid. Members would pay in regularly, and then seek support when they needed it – in essence, this was an ethnic insurance company. It was particularly successful among Scots, as can be seen from the table, which compares the income and expenditure of the Sons of Scotland and their English equivalent between 1906 and 1916. The Sons of Scotland were not a unique group, but they serve to exemplify the wide variety of ethnic associations that Scots formed in North America.

Far East

The Far East offers a slightly different perspective on these issues, since Scots in this part of the world tended to be sojourners, rather than settlers. But if anything, this pattern ensured that ethnic associations were even more powerful as facilitators of networks that went far beyond anything ethnic. To understand this, we can look at Charles Stewart Addis. Born in Edinburgh on 23 November 1861, Addis was educated at Edinburgh Academy before moving on to work for Peter Dowie and Co., Grain Importers in Leith between 1876 and 1880. He then relocated to London, where he joined the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC). The bank had been founded in Hong Kong in 1865 by Thomas Sutherland, a fellow Scot who sought to support the emerging Asian markets with a bank

	Total income		
	1906	1912	1916
Sons of England supreme body	84,942.00	123,682.00	148,150.00
Sons of Scotland grand camp	95,075.00	115,975.00	223,144.00
	Total expenditure for disbursements		
	1906	1906	1906
Sons of England supreme body	74,423.00	108,819.00	122,740.00
Sons of Scotland grand camp	69,380.00	82,932.00	104,846.00
	Number of insurance certificates		
	1906	1906	1906
Sons of England supreme body	4,330.00	5,032.00	4,275.00
Sons of Scotland grand camp	7,705.00	6,844.00	5,746.00
	Investments and other assets		
	1906	1906	1906
Sons of England supreme body	84,599.00	161,673.00	476,141.00
Sons of Scotland grand camp	241,660.00	453,018.00	619,204.00

established on Scottish principles that would also ‘combine banking with the tremendous business opportunities in trade and shipping between Hong Kong and Shanghai’.

It was the move to London and the HSBC that was to bring Addis out to the Far East in 1883, when he was posted to Singapore. Typical of many employed in the financial and business sector, Addis did not remain in Singapore for long, soon moving on to the HSBC head office in Hong Kong. He then became one of the first bankers from the West to live in Beijing, arriving in the city in 1886. Addis’s life as a sojourner continued, however, as he went on to work in several other Asian cities

between 1889 and 1900, including Tientsin (1889), Shanghai (1889-91), Calcutta (1891) and Rangoon (1892). Addis then broke his sojourn with a return trip home in 1894, meeting Eba McIsaac, who was to become his wife. After his marriage, Addis was again sent to work in Shanghai, and was appointed HSBC agent in Hankow (1896) and Calcutta (1897), also serving as sub-manager in Shanghai during his final years in the Far East.

These frequent moves explain how Addis came to be a member of both the Shanghai and the Hong Kong St Andrew’s Societies – and possibly of others too, given that all his places of work and temporary





residences throughout Asia hosted Scottish ethnic associations. For Addis and other Scots who sought out Scottish clubs and societies in various places of residence (membership profiles suggest other overlaps), ethnic associations, while certainly providing important avenues for sociability, were also a principle anchor in what was a very transitory world characterised by comparatively short-term stays in specific locations. This was not a world for planting roots. Membership in ethnic associations could compensate for that absence of 'rootedness', providing a harbour of stability and familiarity that could be recognised, and utilised, by Scots wherever in Asia they were located.

The Jack family again

And that brings us back to the Jack family in New Zealand. As it turned out, the Jacks immediately benefited from a new acquaintance made aboard the *Invercargill* in their quest to secure suitable lodgings on arrival in Wellington on 20 February 1884, when the *Invercargill* 'with colours flying, sailed gracefully up the harbour'. Facilitated by a fellow cabin passenger's contacts, the Jacks settled in their new home in Wellington's Mowbray Street on 25 February 1884, almost exactly four months to the day after their departure from Edinburgh.

The Jacks were also able to utilise several letters of introduction and

The HSBC's Hong Kong headquarters c.1901. Founded by a Scot, Thomas Sutherland, in 1865, it was here that Edinburgh-born Charles Stewart Addis began his banking career, moving around the bank's offices across Asia as his career progressed

testimonials they had brought with them. Written by family and friends to acquaintances they had in New Zealand, these letters and testimonials were meant to provide the Jacks with contact points in their new home who might be able to help with jobs and other aspects of life, easing the Jacks' transition. Once settled, all Jack family members were active in expressing their Scottishness – they were involved, for instance, in the local Caledonian Society and also the presbyterian church.

Yet while all of these stories of the Jack family's migration to New Zealand are fascinating, they are not quite yet the explanation as to why John Jack is one of my favourite Scottish migrants. To understand that we need to return from New Zealand to Dundee.

John Jack died in Wellington in 1909. One of the first things his wife Helen proceeded to do was to immediately send a letter to family members in Scotland, informing them of John's death. She also asked them to put a notice about it in the home papers: the world was more connected than we might think and this was certainly especially important to many in death.

But John's death was also well documented in the Wellington press, not only because he had become a prominent citizen there, but also because he was the first person in New Zealand to be cremated. John had made this request so that his ashes could be sent back to be buried in the family plot in Dundee.

His wish was duly observed, relatives in Scotland receiving the ashes in early 1910. When the ashes arrived, a private ceremony was held at the family home in Dundee. John's ashes were placed on the old oak table in the living room, before the mourners proceeded to the cemetery to lay Jack to rest in the family grave. John's wife and family only learned of the course of events months later when a letter arrived in Wellington from Helen's niece, Jeanie Wilson. Although an immediate relative, the two had not met in person for more than two decades, but were now united in sharing their diverse experiences in relation to John's death through

personal correspondence that criss-crossed the Scottish diaspora. When Helen, John's wife, died a few years later she too was cremated and her ashes sent back to Dundee.

People like John Jack and his wife were not citizens of nowhere because they migrated to New Zealand: they were citizens of the world.

The Jacks' story is documented in detail, and it suggests that the world was more connected than we might think. And these connections could take many other forms, including, of course, 'roots tourism'. A wonderful early example of this was Alexander Falconer, a Scot in New Zealand who, suffering from ill health, was funded by his employer to return to Scotland to recuperate in 1903-04. He became a 'roots tourist' for his wife, who had been unable to accompany him, keeping a journal addressed to her that contained descriptions and sometimes images of what he saw in the homeland. Together with letters and social networks, what all these connections ensured was that people in Scotland knew a lot about the lives of Scots abroad, and *vice versa*. What we can also see is that many Scots were happy to see themselves as migrants; as people seeing opportunities abroad. Scots have, on the whole, an assured sense of identity, of Scottishness. At home and abroad it is built on distinct traditions and civicness. And for Scots in Scotland the idea that they are part of a wider community of Scots has long since been a commonplace.

Scotland, England and Brexit

And now we need to talk about England. It would be simplistic to reduce Brexit to an exclusively English problem – there are obviously many people in Scotland who voted for it. But I have long since argued that the UK's failure to address its own history, particularly its own imperial history, goes some way towards explaining why we are where we are today. And this relates specifically to a failure in England. I do not wish to suggest that Germany got this right – I only need to look at the rise of the AfD to see that there is still a lot of need for progressive debate here too. But, overall, I would agree with Neil MacGregor, former

head of the British Museum, who argued that 'Britain forgets its past. Germany confronts it'.

So no wonder that it took only a short period of time for calls for a post-Brexit 'Empire 2.0' to emerge after the EU referendum, facilitating trade deals and forging a new, glorious future for the UK freed from the (perceived) shackles of the EU. This is how the slogan of 'global

day during the EU referendum campaign. The stirring of hate against migrants, and EU citizens specifically, played a pivotal role in delivering the 'leave' result. Yet while immigration from EU countries and beyond continues to be a frequent topic, the same cannot be said at all about the emigration of British citizens. This goes some way towards explaining why migration can now

When public debate is constantly sacrificed for soundbites and click-baits, is threatened and undermined by 'fake news', we need historians to draw parallels to help make sense of the present

Britain' came about. In reality it is a fast-combusting pipe dream. And in any case, as we saw earlier, the UK has been global for centuries. During the 19th-century age of mass migration, migrants from the UK were – in their millions – going out into the world as adventurers, economic migrants and exiles. They took their skills, language and cultural practices with them in the same way migrants do today, making home in new worlds. But many British people do not see that history, something that resonates until today: Britons abroad are expats, not migrants, the very term having become so dirty that they reject it. But of course it is not dirty: it has been made dirty, on front pages that could be seen every single

be cast so easily as a one-way street into the UK.

Historically, for many British migrants, ethnic associations served to create a connected world: it was through ethnic clubs – and the networks and links they enabled – that the English, Scots and Welsh became global. They were citizens of the world, using their ethnicity to establish diasporas. Yet in Brexit Britain today, 'citizens of the world' has become an insult, first dispensed by former prime minister Theresa May. Unable to develop a positive narrative of England's place in the world alongside other nations, the EU referendum triggered a desire among many to recreate the past – or rather, an imagined past that immediately translated into 'Empire

2.0' after the referendum.

Faced with reality, leading Brexit supporters are becoming increasingly shrill in their rhetoric, pushing the blame on to others – recently this found expression in a strong anti-German sentiment, often with reference to the second world war, but migrants and EU citizens specifically are still a key focus.

With their cheap populist jingoism, these politicians and commentators are blowing up bridges built over decades with a single TV appearance or even a single tweet. Underpinned by an entirely misplaced sense of exceptionalism and entitlement, they reveal the nature of that much-heralded new 'global Britain' identity. Instead of being open, it is narrow and exclusive, an identity weaponising history to serve a specific political narrative. But it uses, at best, a selective history, ignoring that British people have been amongst the most prolific migrants for centuries.

Scotland is caught up in this, despite the fact that it neither voted for Brexit, nor the immigration policies that are coming with it, recognising the value of inward migration. From Brexit to Trump to current developments in Poland, hard-won progress is being undone at an alarming speed. When public debate is constantly sacrificed for soundbites and click-bait, is threatened and undermined by 'fake news', we need historians to draw parallels to help make sense of the present. Historians have an important role to play in challenging these narratives, and I hope this article shows, in a small way, how.

Scotland certainly stands at a watershed moment. Whatever one's view on independence, there can be no doubt that Brexit has brought out, more starkly than anything else before, how differently Scotland, on the whole, views the world and its place in it: as a global nation, and an open nation.

Tanja Buelmann is Professor of History at Northumbria University. She has published widely on Scottish migration and diaspora, with a particular emphasis on associational culture.

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CLYDEBANK BLITZ

The devastation caused by the Clydebank blitz in the second world war is an all too familiar tale for those who lived in the town and nearby Glasgow, but what is less well known is how the town coped in the aftermath of the bombing. **Paul Hamilton** shares the stories of some of those affected

Over the course of two nights on 13 and 14 March 1941, the densely-populated town of Clydebank (population 55,000) suffered a devastating aerial bombardment at the hands of the Luftwaffe. Official records put the death toll at 528, but it is almost certain that many more civilians lost their lives.

Home to heavy industry, most notably the River Clyde shipyards, Clydebank was an obvious target for the German air force; which explains why 439 bombers dropped in excess of 1,650 incendiary containers and 272 tonnes of bombs on the town.

For those below, it was like nothing experienced before. Whilst people huddled together at the base of tenement closes, the town crumbled around its residents, claiming hundreds of lives.

The German pilots had faced little difficulty in locating the town. With a clear, moonlit sky, it was a 'bomber's night'. The destruction, therefore, was on a hitherto unimaginable

scale. Around two thirds of all the houses in Clydebank were either destroyed or damaged and by the end of the two-night bombardment, there were only seven homes reported as having escaped any form of damage.

However, from the German perspective, the air raids on Clydebank were not successful. Although the focus of the attack had been key industrial targets in the town, there was almost no damage of any significance to the likes of John Brown's Shipyard or Singer; businesses with substantial war-related output. In fact, the only business that suffered damage which had an impact on production was the Strathclyde Hosiery Company.

At 9pm on 13 March 1941, air raid sirens sounded along the River Clyde and within minutes, the bombers were in the skies above Clydebank and the threat was obvious.

Heinkel crews of the KGr100 bomber group looked down upon the town and set about the business of establishing their targets. The moonlight reflected upon the river,

The grave of Wallace Cochrane aged seventeen months, one of the hundreds of victims of the Clydebank Blitz

canal and road surfaces below, creating a silver glaze that illuminated the town and distinguished it from sections of neighbouring countryside.

The first bombers laid the path for those to follow. Small, high explosives lit the area from afar, making the task of identifying Clydebank from above all too easy. Flying from bases in northern Europe, the Luftwaffe was able to hone in on the town and drop explosive charges to terrifying effect. This included incendiary devices, composed of magnesium alloy, containing thermite with the capacity to melt steel; particularly useful for industrial targets.

Reports mention that in the early stages of the aerial bombardment, local distilleries were alight. So severe was the damage, in fact, that there are accounts of waterways alight with burning whisky flowing in the direction of the River Clyde.

Buildings were quickly flattened and fire had taken hold of many streets. Residents attempted to flee from collapsing tenements, but in many instances there was not enough

time. In the centre of the town, an area of houses referred to as ‘the holy city’, due to its resemblance to the flat-roofed style of housing in Jerusalem, was ablaze. By now, the seemingly never-ending onslaught of heavy bombs and parachute mines was taking an almighty toll.

The response of the emergency services was severely hampered by difficulties in communication, made worse by the impact of destroyed roads and collapsed buildings which prevented rescue workers from getting to where they were most needed.

Across Clydebank, there was almost nowhere that the impact of the two-day blitz had not been felt. In one street alone, there were 80 recorded deaths due to an explosion from a parachute mine. Either crushed to death in collapsing buildings or burned in the fires caused by explosions, the fate of many people from the town is difficult to comprehend. Vital supplies were quickly exhausted whilst responders did all they could. Makeshift first aid stations and rescue centres were at capacity, struggling to cope with the large numbers of wounded and dying.

When the all-clear finally sounded after two days of intense bombardment, the town was unrecognisable to those who had survived. The scale of the destruction was huge and large numbers of survivors were forced to leave the town, never to return. Approximately 4,000 houses were completely destroyed, along with schools, churches and many other key buildings. Clydebank was all but flattened.

As for the industrial locations which had made Clydebank a target in the first place, there was some damage, but nothing like the ruin that had been inflicted upon the surrounding town. The timber yard at Singer had caught fire and the admiralty oil depot was reported to have lost a significant amount of fuel, but both sites remained operational after the bombardment was over.

Reporting the blitz

In the aftermath of the blitz there was obvious hardship for the

townspeople. But the sense of resolve amongst the population gave a clear indication that there was a desire to rebuild and resist.

That is not to say there was no despair or anguish, far from it. In fact, whole families had been lost, streets torn apart and a community shattered. The scars of the blitz can still be seen in the town today, on the few surviving original buildings with cracks from bomb and shrapnel damage, and of course in the minds of those who lived through the experience. To survive such an ordeal was a trauma in itself.

John Bowman, who was on active service at the time of the Clydebank blitz, recounted during a BBC interview that he returned home to discover his house had been destroyed and his mother, two brothers and younger sister had all been killed.

Yet outside Scotland, the Clydebank blitz is rarely discussed or even heard of. In comparison to other large-scale bombardments in the likes of Coventry and London, its place is somewhat overlooked and overshadowed.

Censorship had some role to play in this. There are contemporary accounts of a bombing in western Scotland, but almost no mention of Clydebank. There were no official visits by government members or film crews in the aftermath of what happened – there was in a sense, a media blackout.

Confusion also existed between Clydebank and Glasgow in official reports. Town and city neighbour each other, but each has its own distinct identity. It is owing to this confusion that there is so much uncertainty about the death toll. Many figures from the time wrongly cite Glasgow, when in fact they ought to have been referring to Clydebank.

So, why was what happened in Clydebank so heavily censored and wrongly reported? The most obvious reason was the significance of the town in military terms. As a leading producer of ships, munitions and ordnance, there was a deliberate attempt to cover up what had happened because if reports of the failure to significantly damage industrial targets had reached

Germany, there was a fear that further bombardments would be likely.

The legacy

Robert Cochrane is a survivor of the Clydebank blitz. On the evening of 13 March 1941, he was in his tenement house in the Dalmuir area of the town. Aged just four, he was with his family when the bombs began to drop. Despite the passing of more than seventy years, he remembers the events with tremendous clarity. His reply when asked how he is still able to remember so vividly is ‘how could I ever forget?’

Robert recalls how he lived with his mother and younger brother, Wallace, who was seventeen months old. Robert’s father was not home as he had been deployed to serve with the Russian convoys as a sailor in the Royal Navy. In the house that night, Robert was joined by other members of his family, including his grandmother and aunt.

Plan showing the distribution of people rendered homeless by the blitz

Distribution of Homeless Persons sent out of Clydebank under arrangements made by the Department	
Area	Number of Homeless Persons
Vale of Leven	2,000
Helensburgh	200
Kirkintilloch	700
Paisley	740
Bearsden	400
Milngavie	400
Stirlingshire (Denny, Larbert, Lennoxton, Kilsyth)	470
Motherwell	1,000
Coatbridge	1,300
Hamilton	700
Airdrie	400
Lanarkshire landward area	1,400
Renfrewshire landward area	1,100
Johnstone	540
17th March 1941	



Robert Cochrane at the grave of his younger brother Wallace Cochrane

The three-storey tenement building where Robert lived was hit by a falling bomb. Robert describes how everything ‘collapsed around him’, causing the family to be buried alive amongst brick and debris. It took over five hours for him to be rescued, so intense was the damage.

Pulled from the rubble, Robert miraculously escaped with little more than a cut on his head, but his brother did not survive. At less than two years old, Wallace Cochrane was one of the many children who lost their lives during the Clydebank Blitz. Robert recalls:

I remember lying in the dust and sensing the weight of material on top of me. It was pitch black and claustrophobic, but then I remember the soldiers digging me out. At that point, I remember looking down the street and seeing this building gone except for one gable with a black piano hanging there. Wallace had been wrapped in a coat under the kitchen table with my aunt. The soldiers dug him out and handed him to my mother and he was unmarked, except for a mark on his forehead.

Sadly, the tragedy of what happened to Robert’s brother was one example amongst many. Right across the town, harrowing scenes were unfolding, leaving survivors with painful memories. In a newspaper interview with the *Daily Record* during 2016, John Scanlon (then aged 87) recounted a tale of horror.

He talked of how he ‘almost stood on a girl lying in the street’. Laying on the ground, dead, ‘her long hair was getting washed along behind her in the water from a burst water main’. In the confusion and panic of the falling bombs, John became separated from his family and was not sure if they were dead or alive. He remembers how on the morning of 14 March 1941: ‘There were bodies everywhere... I saw my Mum, she was walking up and down a line of bodies covered in white sheets. She was lifting the sheets and looking, trying to find me’.

Today, the Clydebank blitz remains vivid in the memories of the remaining survivors. What they experienced is something they will never forget.

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Vol 20.1
Jan/Feb 2020
On sale:
14 Dec 2019

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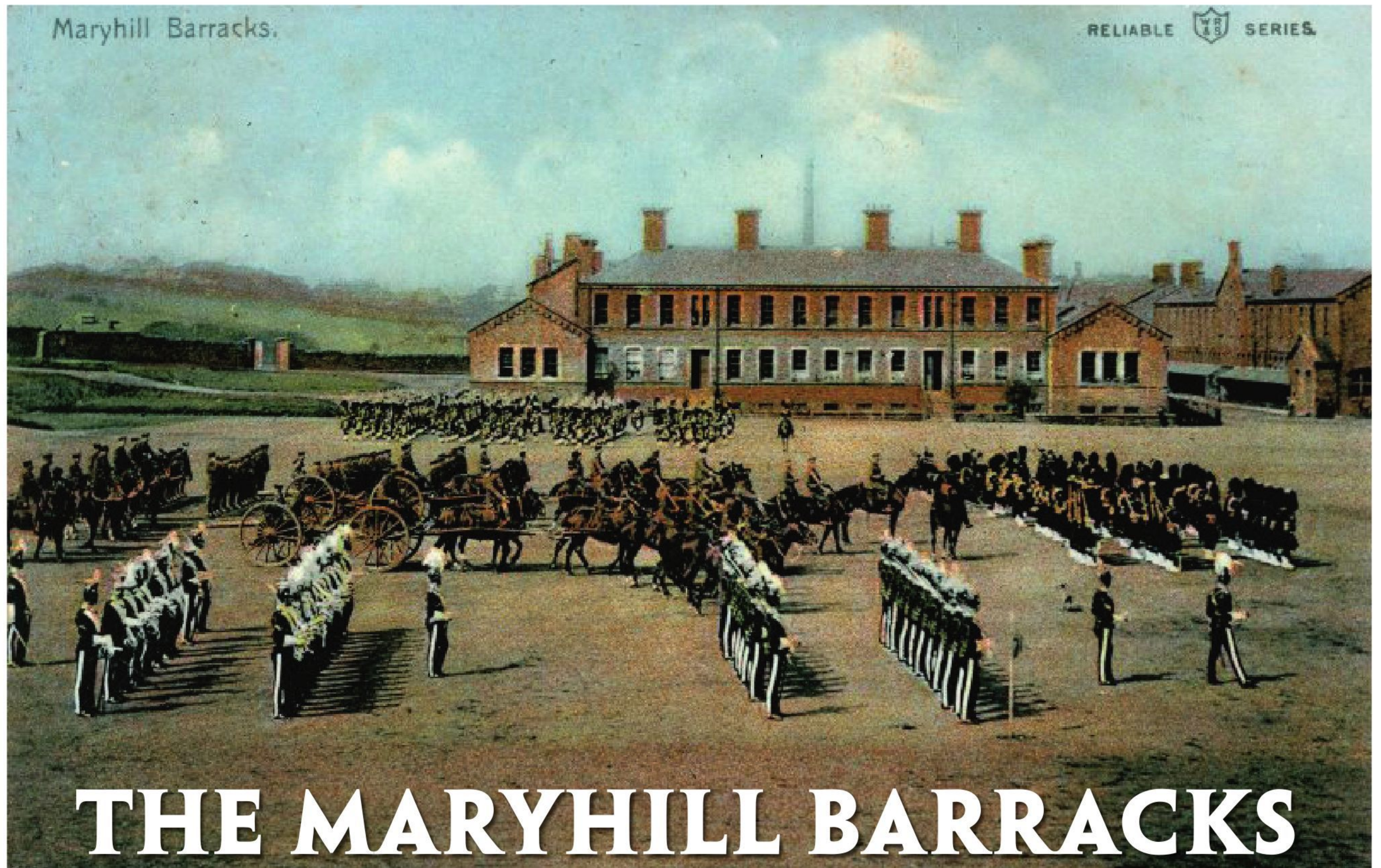
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THE MARYHILL BARRACKS CONTROVERSY

William B. Black explores the protracted dispute between the war office and its contractor over the construction of a new infantry barracks at Maryhill in the 1870s, showing that the debate over using private expertise in public building projects is by no means a new one

From 1878 until its closure in 1959, Maryhill barracks was a significant presence within the district and remains so even today, thanks to the survival of a significant part of the perimeter wall encircling the Wyndford housing estate. The choice of location was discussed over a long period and, after construction began, was protracted due to a serious dispute between the war office and the contractor.

Conception

Although troops had been stationed in Glasgow at times of civil unrest in the 18th century, there was no permanent presence until 1796. The revolution in France and a rising demand for political reform in certain

parts of the United Kingdom, including Scotland, led to fears within government, both local and national, of possible civil unrest. This prompted pleas from the Glasgow magistrates, along with other municipal bodies, for the erection of permanent barracks in Scotland's cities. This resulted in the construction of an infantry barracks east of Glasgow Cross, with a small cavalry barracks following in Eglinton Street in 1821, also as a counter for civil unrest. The latter was closed in 1851, becoming the Govan poorhouse and, by this time, concern was being shown about the infantry barracks.

Following the Crimean war, two reports had been published, stating that the current standard of barrack accommodation

Maryhill barracks
pictured in 1903

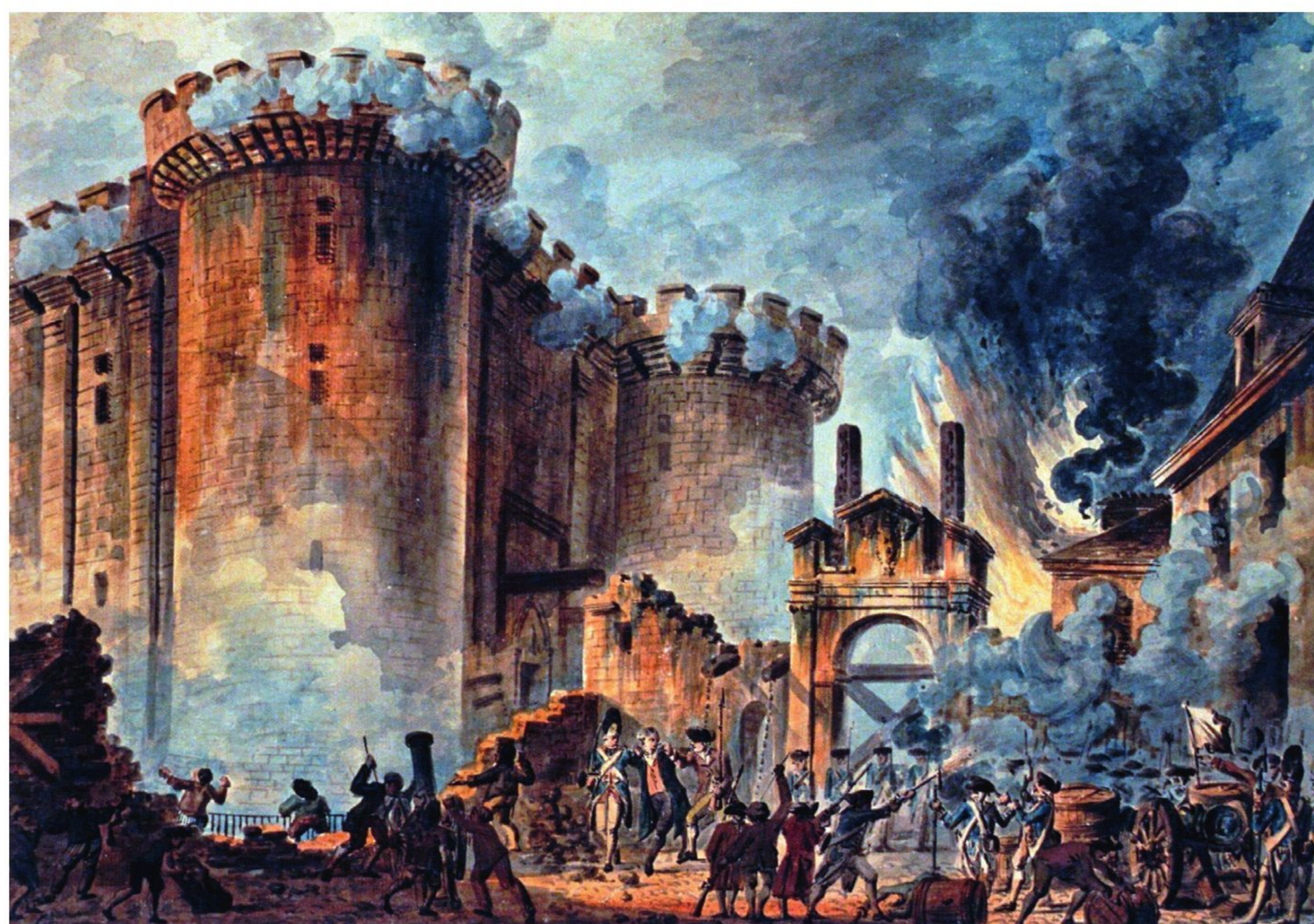
in the United Kingdom was unacceptable, with mortality rates among soldiers being 76 per cent higher than the male civilian population in the same age range. Complaints about Glasgow barracks had predated this by several years, particularly in relation to its location to the east of the city centre. The area around the barracks had deteriorated and in 1837 was described as being 'in the worst place in town', with sub-standard housing and numerous poor quality public houses and hostelrys, seen by the authorities as a grave danger to the morality of the garrison.

Additionally, by 1850 the barracks were capable only of housing a half battalion, complicating deployments, so as early as 1854 the first proposals

for a move had surfaced. At this time ground at Hyndland to the west of the city was on the market and this became the target of the war office. However, that would place the barracks in close proximity to the Glasgow lunatic asylum at Gartnavel, leading to strong opposition from Glasgow corporation. Ostensibly, this was due to the possible effect on the inmates, but Hyndland was seen as an ideal spot for development of superior housing, which may also have been a factor. The war office retreated for two years, then resumed their efforts to obtain the site. Again the corporation objected, listing various reasons, mainly in relation to the requirement of the garrison to be available in 'support of the civil power' during any disturbances. They claimed all such prior outbreaks had been either in the city centre or the east end, some distance from the proposed site. Between Hyndland and the city was the River Kelvin, whose steep banks would prove ideal for insurgents to use to block movement. Their preferred option was to the north and east of the city centre, close to the Edinburgh to Glasgow railway and the canals, claiming this would permit swift reinforcement if necessary. However, although making a general comment, it appears that the corporation made no effort to highlight any suitable location as an alternative.

November 1858 saw a suggestion in the *Glasgow Herald* that the war office consider purchasing Garrioch estate to the north-west of the city. It formed part of the much larger Ruchill estate, owned by a local merchant, William John Davidson, who they understood was willing to sell. Several other sites also appeared in the press and, in the following year, Garrioch was put forward to the war office by the corporation, with no response.

Following the sale of the cavalry barracks, again in 1861, the corporation was pressing for new premises but there was a further hiatus until 1866, when a city delegation, including the



The French revolution of 1789-99 had caused fears of civil unrest from local and national government in Scotland and other European countries

two local MPs, met in May with the secretary of state for war, Lord Hartington. At this it became obvious that the army continued to consider Hyndland the best solution, despite sustained opposition. Then in 1867 Major General Frederick Hamilton, officer commanding North Britain, was tasked to supply a report on a suitable site in the Glasgow area. Assisted by the lord provost, Sir James Lumsden, Hamilton visited three sites, St Rollox, Hyndland and Ruchill, quickly ruling out the first due to pollution from the nearby chemical works. Lumsden declared opposition to the site near Gartnavel, although the directors of the asylum suggested they would sell the hospital for £80,000, a sum Hamilton considered outrageous. By contrast, Davidson was prepared to accept £600 per acre for 57 acres of Ruchill, a more reasonable total of £34,200. After considerable correspondence, in November 1867 Davidson agreed to sell at an increased price of £850 per acre. Originally the war office had wanted ground immediately south of Ruchill house, at the north east end of the estate, but Davidson demurred, offering instead the 1858 suggestion for Garrioch. Once more, the negotiations dragged on, mainly on the method of payment, Davidson eventually

accepting £26,687.50, paid over a period of 22-and-a-half years, this being offset by a projected sale price for the old barracks of £22,431. Towards the end of 1868, Garrioch estate became the official site for the new barracks.

Construction begins

Tenders for construction of the barracks closed on 1 October 1869, the contract being granted to John Kirk from Woolwich. Kirk had carried out war department work at Woolwich, Bermuda and Newhaven, being selected for the last named even though he was not the lowest bidder. Prior to submitting his bid he had visited the site, noting that the stone for the buildings was to be obtained from two nearby quarries, Stockingfield and Kelvindale. Studying their relative locations, Kirk estimated that similar or superior stone might lie under the site itself and sought permission from the army surveyor, Walter Edes, to use it if available. Edes agreed, with the proviso that it was extracted with the approval of the superintending officer, amending the specification accordingly. On return to London, Kirk modified his bid to take advantage of this material, advising the war office in his submission that he intended to do so. Originally, work was to commence on 18 October but, discovering an error in the tender calculations, Kirk

advised the war office that he would require to submit an amended bid, acknowledging that they might wish to cancel the contract due to this. The revised tender was for £97,000 and was accepted by the war office but further slight delay occurred, due to the necessary drawings not being forwarded to Kirk.

By 18 November, Kirk was reporting having made various trial excavations, from which he had concluded that the sandstone on site was superior to that being provided from the two quarries. Therefore, he requested permission to use it in construction on the various buildings being constructed. This was in accordance with section seven of the specification, as modified by Edes, but, in responding on 30 November, the war office stated it could be used only for foundations. Should he wish to extend its use, he would require to pay the War Office for

doing so. Kirk replying by pointing out that section seven included the phrase 'or otherwise', suggesting that his request complied with its terms. Eventually the war office agreed to its extraction, with the proviso that they had a right to specify 'from where the stone was obtained', to which Kirk agreed on 21 December.

The area around the barracks had deteriorated and in 1837 was described as being 'in the worst place' in town

Enter Captain Smith

Unknown to Kirk, his correspondence with the war office had originated from Captain Percy Guilleman Llewelyn Smith RE, who was appointed superintending

officer for the contract on 17 December. Smith was the son of a distinguished military engineer, who had been employed for the previous six years on defence work at Portland and Weymouth. During this period he had been permitted to use convict labour and, in 1868, published an article entitled 'Notes on Military and Convict Labour'. This article showed that Smith was

prejudiced against working with private contractors and unionised workers. The second paragraph of his paper details his attitude to the latter, in it he states:

The influence of trade unions in preventing men from working hard, and in raising the market rates of wages, makes it more than ever an advantage to control bodies of men who can be made to do a fair day's work at reasonable rates of pay, and who have no interest in 'scamping' for their employers.

The article also claimed that several distinguished senior officers, including Sir John Burgoyne, inspector general of engineers, endorsed his views and, by implication would support any action he took in implementing them.

The timber dispute

The specification for timber required most of it to be obtained from the Baltic, apart from oak, which could be sourced in the UK. However, it also contained the usual clause, permitting timber from other sources 'as may be approved by the superintending officer'. In winter, Baltic trade was suspended, as all the timber ports were icebound and, in an effort to comply with the specification, Kirk contacted George Hackford, an importer from Boston, Lincolnshire, who was known to be considered highly by the war



The specification for the barracks was for all timber apart from oak to be obtained from the Baltic, a challenging requirement when Baltic trade was regularly suspended during the winter months



office. Hackford spoke to suppliers throughout the UK, all of whom were unable to comply. Hackford discovered that the City Sawmills of James Brownlee at Port Dundas had some suitable timber from the Baltic and could complete the balance of the order from other stocks, guaranteed to be of equal quality. Hackford arranged for the timber to be delivered to the barracks but failed to advise Kirk that it did not all originate in the Baltic. In doing so it is probable that he assumed the discretionary clause in the specification would apply as the timber was of suitable quality. On 18 January 1870, Smith rejected the bulk of this timber on the basis that it did not comply with the specification, as it was not marked at one end with the original source.

A second delivery suffered the same fate and, in a further effort to comply, Brownlee had his manager Henry Stewart supervise personally the next batch of timber. Stewart had over 20 years' experience in the trade and ensured that all of the timber was core wood, minimising the quantity of sap in each piece. Possibly being aware that a third wholesale rejection might attract unwanted attention from

Smith's regular complaints to the skilled stonemasons at the barracks site caused continuous friction on the job

his superiors, Smith accepted some planks from the centre of the consignment, rejecting the remainder as defective. Stewart responded by selecting Crown Memel and Riga timber, both sources required by the specification but, as the Baltic remained closed, made up the balance of the order with Quebec red pine. This was a wood that timber suppliers considered of a quality at least equal to that from the Baltic but, once more, seeing the Canadian marks, Smith rejected it. By June 1870 frustration led one of Brownlee's foremen, James Smith, to make a serious error of judgement. He had been sending deal from Archangel and St Petersburg and, despite them being from specified sources, Smith kept rejecting them. The foreman recognised that the royal engineer had no proper knowledge, as the deals had been marked with the relevant port brands. In the next batch he had the brand markings cut off from one end, while painting over these on the other. This time Smith not only rejected them but accused Brownlee of deliberately trying to pass off inferior material.

By autumn 1870, Brownlee was declining further orders from

Kirk and, as word of the problems spread throughout the trade, no other supplier in Scotland would replace him. In the interim Kirk had asked a London timber broker, Christopher Mouncey, to come north and examine the timber, which he declared to be superior to that obtainable from the Baltic. He had been accompanied by Thomas Steel, manager for Peter Rolt & Co, another London merchant, who agreed to replace Brownlee as supplier but, as previously, the bulk of his first order was rejected by Smith. Travelling north again, Steel inspected not only his own rejected material but that provided by Brownlee and, probably recognising that a 'hidden agenda' was at work, asked Kirk to release him from the remainder of his contract.

The masonry dispute

During his correspondence with the war office in December 1869, at one point they had advised the contractor that they wished to alter the specification for the concrete to be provided. Kirk objected, pointing out their formula would result in an inferior product, and the specification was left unaltered. Once on site Kirk searched for local sources of slaked lime but the best products

proved more expensive than estimated and he requested an additional payment for using them. Smith responded by telling him to find a cheaper alternative, and some was brought from a source at Castlecary, the sample when made up being rejected by the contractor himself as of poor quality. Instead of permitting Kirk to return to the superior product, Smith told him to ensure all future samples came up to specification.

By March the superintending officer was complaining both about the quality of stone being provided and the standard of work of the masons on the site. The stone came from Stockingfield, and Smith arranged for a demonstration wall to be erected. Kirk considered Stockingfield stone of poor quality, with excessive wastage, two thirds of the stone provided for the demonstration itself being rejected. When completed, both Kirk and John Murray, the quarry-master, considered it to be ashlar work, with a smooth external face but Smith insisted that it was rubble construction. Later he claimed that it was a 'broached face' and denied he had used it as a sample of what he required. On 14 March Colonel White, officer commanding, royal engineers in Scotland, came to inspect the work, accompanied by John Batstone, Kirk's surveyor, both agreeing that the wall was of ashlar construction. Smith had banned the use of stone from within the site other than foundations and, observing that it was lighter in colour than the other material, White decided to endorse this. However, as the variation was slight, should it improve, the restriction could be lifted. Perhaps, having seen his subordinate embarrassed over the wall construction, White was trying to allow him to save face, while hoping common sense would prevail in future. Within a week the restriction had been lifted, with the stone being used on the boundary walls.

Another problem that arose was the failure of Murray to supply sufficient quantities of

material, having dropped to 100 tons per week by June, a shortfall of 95 per cent. To minimise the resultant delays in construction, Smith agreed that some of the stone from within the site could be used for minor buildings, although it was darker than that from Stockingfield. Accompanying

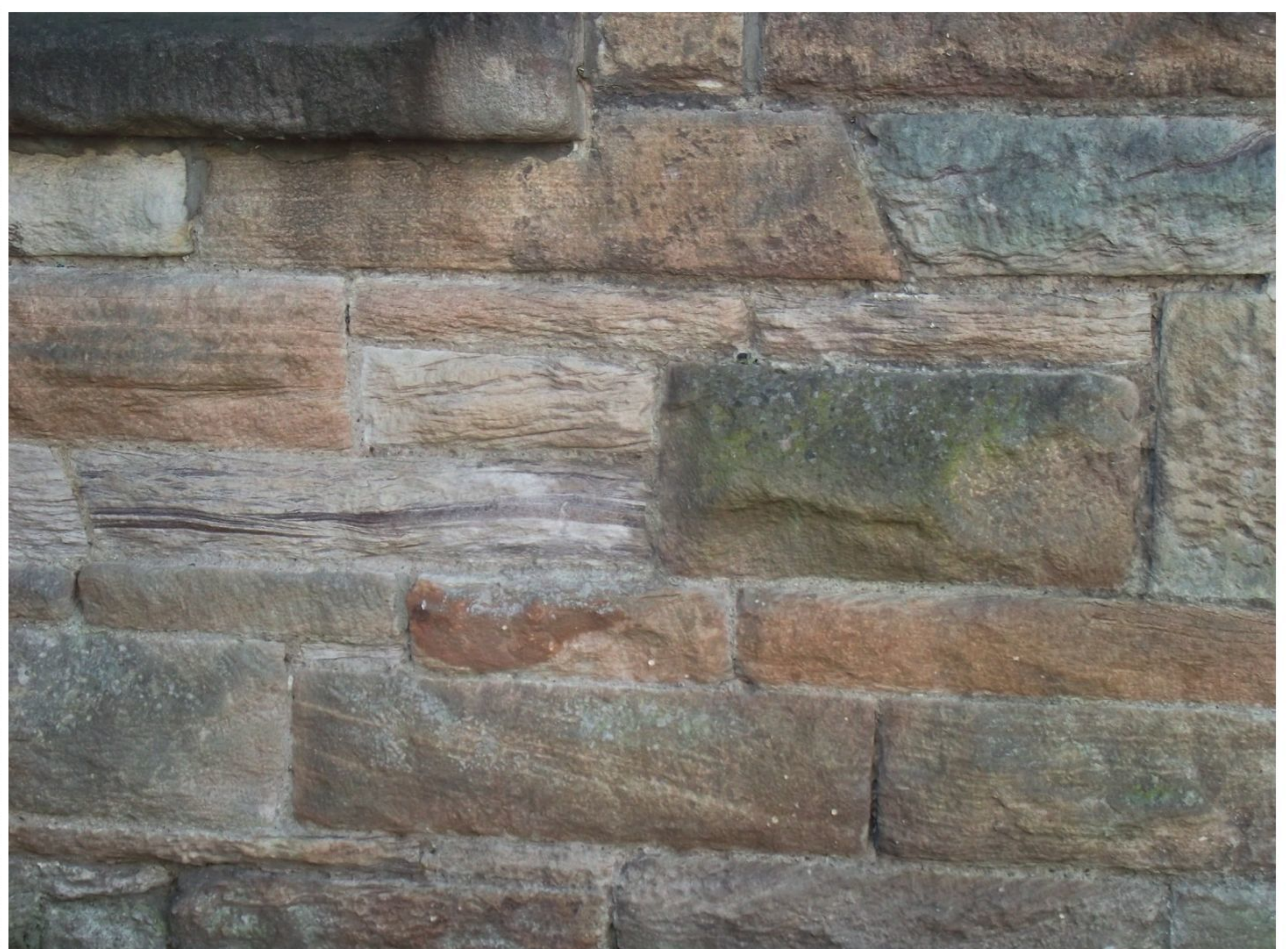
with greater knowledge of stones than the sergeant-major, and his behaviour, coupled with the regular loss of income, resulted in many men leaving the contract. Inevitably word spread and Kirk found difficulty in obtaining skilled replacements, causing further delays to completion.

By autumn 1870, Brownlee was declining further orders from Kirk and, as word of the problems spread throughout the trade, no other supplier in Scotland would replace him

Smith was Sergeant-Major Libby, who acted as clerk of works, his behaviour causing serious problems with the stone masons. They were paid by results and Libby was studying their work, then marking stones for removal even with minor blemishes. His excuse was that 'brown marks' indicated iron leaching and it should be removed as this has been agreed between Kirk and Smith. This was accurate but much of that removed only had cosmetic blemishes, its loss also resulting in masons not being paid. Most of these were very experienced,

A closeup of the gatehouse wall which shows the varying shades of sandstone which caused trouble initially but were later used and sourced from within the site

Supply problems also occurred in relation to freestone, used for lintels and other purposes, sourced from Hunterhill quarry at Bishopbriggs. When this slowed, Kirk proposed an alternative source at Falkirk but Smith refused, and in September 1870, 70 masons had to be laid off due to lack of work. The superintending officer also proved intransigent over relative heights of adjacent walls while being constructed and between rubble courses and freestone, resulting in further condemnations and delays. Construction finish



By March the superintending officer was complaining both about the quality of stone being provided and the standard of work of the masons on the site

varied according to the use of the buildings, each being defined in the drawings and specification, but this proved another area where Smith caused friction. The regimental stores building was built of random rubble as directed in the drawings, but Smith insisted that it should have been squared bed rubble and when Kirk appealed to White, again the latter failed to give a clear decision. He agreed that it should be random rubble but claimed he was allowing this due to the limitations of the available sandstone and Smith persisted in ignoring this decision. Libby was continuing to cause problems and, like his superior, was prepared to flout decisions made by White. In November 1870 the latter declared work on the married quarters to be to specification but Libby continued to insist it was not and had the masons' remuneration reduced. That a colonel should be unable to overrule, or even remove, a captain who obviously was delaying a contract vexaciously perhaps may be explained by the knowledge that Smith was favoured by senior officers in the war office.

Repeatedly Kirk found his progress impeded by the slow supply of drawings and, following one delay, he complained directly to the war office. They replied that the drawings had been sent to Smith some time previously, so it appears he may have withheld them deliberately. Libby continued to interfere directly with the workers, causing further friction with Kirk's supervisors, all of whom were experienced craftsmen. Sub-contractors were also subjected to harassment. Smith complained about the shape of slates provided, but

James Lightbody, the sub-contractor, refused to alter them, describing the officer's actions as 'unusual'. Then he discovered that Smith had acted similarly on a previous contract, leading that slater to withdraw, and, in July 1870, Lightbody decided to follow suit. Then Smith turned his attention to the ventilators being supplied, claiming they did not comply with the war office pattern. This time the supplier, Jeakes & Co, complained directly to the war office and Smith was forced to accept the ventilators. Unfortunately, the war office suggested it was due to the pattern book Smith was following being obsolete. Libby continued to interfere directly with the workers, causing friction with Kirk's supervisors, all of whom were very experienced craftsmen. Even when buildings were nearing completion they were not immune to Smith's rejection. By August 1870 the quartermaster's store had been completely roofed, when the superintendent walked in and ordered that it be demolished as he ruled that the roof timbers had been condemned.

Against this backdrop, Kirk's agent, John Phillips, requested to be released from his job in March 1871 and, soon after, Henry Sheridan, MP for Dudley, intervened, seeking a meeting to resolve the problems. His reason for doing so is not known, but it is possible that Phillips advised him of the situation and his concerns over Smith's motives. Then, on 20 July 1871, the war office suspended the contract, on the basis that it 'was not progressing with due diligence'. At this point Kirk was owed over £11,000 by the war office, with another £8,000 of plant and supplies, which he was

forbidden to remove from the site. Kirk immediately wrote to Edward Cardwell, secretary of state for war, appealing against the suspension and seeking an investigation. The only response was a letter on 4 August, complaining he had failed to withdraw from the site. This brought an answer from Kirk that he had been advised the suspension was illegal and he was waiting the results of a tribunal to which the matter had been referred.

Petition of right

The barracks were crown property, so Kirk could not raise a civil action because the sovereign could not be sued. However, since the 17th century English law allowed a 'petition of right' to the sovereign, detailing the rights considered due to the petitioner. On receipt of this a tribunal had to be established, at which all parties had legal representation. Kirk's was submitted to the war office on 26 August 1871, with Smith named as a defendant. In it Kirk was seeking: (1) payment of monies due, (2) damages from the war office for breach of contract, (3) restitution from Smith, (4) an injunction preventing the contract being re-allocated and (5) an injunction against Smith continuing as superintending officer. An effort to settle the matter amicably failed and, in February 1872 it was heard in the Chancery court, London, by the vice chancellor Sir John Wicken, Kirk being represented by Sir Roundell Palmer QC and Sir G Osborne Morgan QC, both distinguished barristers and liberal MPs.

Among Kirk's expert witnesses were six Glasgow architects, including John Burnet senior and James Salmon senior. None of them had been involved with the contract but all considered the masonry work had been carried out to be of higher standard than the contract required. They were supported by the war office building surveyor, R.O Mennie, who had visited the site at the end of 1870 and confirmed that the quality of stone taken from the site was as good as that supplied by Murray. Additionally, Mouncey testified that the timber supplied

was superior to any obtainable from St Petersburg.

Another of Kirk's key witnesses was his former agent, John Phillips, who had been agent at the construction of Fenchurch station and chief surveyor for the metropolitan commissioner of sewers. At one point he had requested reasons in writing from Smith for his rejection of joists, but Smith claimed the war office had told him to refuse. Smith had revealed to him that a previous contractor had relinquished a project he was supervising, allowing him to have it completed by military labour. Then he described his paper to Phillips, implying in the conversation that all employees of civil contractors were intent on defrauding the war office. When Smith himself appeared, he denied that he had been responsible for the civil contractor withdrawing at Portland, although Phillips had not suggested this. He denied also interfering with the men, which was accurate but as the NCOs who did so would be acting under his orders, he should have been considered ultimately responsible. Smith admitted that he took no action when the NCOs' actions were reported and implied that he approved of them. Unfortunately, Kirk's legal representatives did not have access to Smith's articles, these being internal material within the royal engineers. Doubtless, had they requested them, the war office would have refused their release.

Smith's legal representative, a Mr Freeman, accepted that the alternative timber was of equal quality to that specified. However, he considered this

irrelevant, stating that Smith was entitled to reject it as it was not that specified in the contract. Palmer rejected this and, in his support, Osborne Morgan told the court he considered Smith 'not only a pedant but the worst of all pedants – a military one'. He argued the difficulties had arisen through Smith's total ignorance about the matters on which he pronounced judgement. When judgement was given on 26 February the court agreed that Smith was a 'martinet to the contractor' and appeared ignorant but, nevertheless, rejected Kirk's appeal. Even although the allegations might be considered proved, Kirk had attempted to deviate from the requirements stipulated and, therefore, they could not interfere.

Despite the strength of Kirk's case and admittance that it held substance, it appears that Wickens felt it was more important that the war office and, implicitly, the queen herself should not be seen to lose face. However, it appears that Smith's conduct was noted, although he was promoted and retired in 1887 as an 'honorary' major general, never again was he allowed to supervise any contracts. After a period as an instructor, he was seconded to the Admiralty in 1879 and remained in a desk-bound position there until his retiral. Although he lost in court, it appears that it was agreed the contractor should be given some compensation. This went to arbitration in July 1873, although the amount awarded was never published and Kirk died five months later on 9 January 1874. Despite his problems at Garrioch, he remained a well-respected

member of the construction industry, this being reflected in the various obituaries following his demise.

The war office resumed control of the barracks site in March 1872, but no immediate resumption of work occurred until September 1873. Initially this was to be carried out by the royal engineers, an apparent victory for Smith's philosophy. However, by mid-1874, 500 civilian contractors were working on the site, apparently without problems, despite Libby having been retained as clerk of works. Progress remained slow and it was not until 1878 that the barracks came into full use. They remained a key feature in Maryhill into the second half of the 20th century and were earmarked for modernisation in 1956. However, the 1957 defence review altered this and, on 17 July 1958, their closure was announced. Glasgow Corporation approached the war office and, following closure, it passed into their control, resulting in the construction of the Wyndford housing estate. Apart from the perimeter wall, the sole survivor of Kirk's contract is the guardhouse, retained due to its connection with the capture of Rudolf Hess during the second world war. It was the subject of a dispute with Smith, who argued that the stonework, particularly the window surrounds, were of sub-standard construction. Today this handsome little building stands as testament to the high quality produced by Kirk and his workmen and continues to give the lie to Smith's claims.

Today, with the continuing debate about private involvement in public contracts, the Maryhill barrack controversy highlights that it is an argument that has been in existence for a very long time, even if the reasoning involved has altered over the decades.

William B. Black is a retired training manager with an interest in the lesser-known aspects of local history, including the old Maryhill police burgh.

FURTHER READING

British Barracks 1600-1914 (London, 1998), F. Drouet:

'The Modern Barrack, its Plan and Construction', *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of British Architects* (1880), E. Ingress Bukk

'Notes on Military and Convict Labour', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Engineers*, 16 (1868), P. Smith

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‘UNIONIST NATIONALISM’ AND ARCHITECTURE

Dr Clarisse Godard Desmarest and Dr Aonghus MacKechnie demonstrate how changing fashions in architecture can be used to trace the national mood and Scotland’s changing political situation within the United Kingdom through the 19th century

While Scotland’s place within the UK is possibly the country’s biggest political issue today, in the 19th century things were different; there was no substantial movement arguing for independence. However, during the course of the century there was a clear shift in opinion regarding the value or relevance of Scottish culture or ‘Scottishness’, and we can illustrate that here, simply with reference to Scotland’s buildings.

At the start of the 19th century, Scottish architecture was characterised by a fashion for classicism, and the continuing legacy of ideas brought from Europe which became popular from the late 17th century onwards. And yet, the idea of the Scottish castle – rendered obsolete by the classicists – was already being revived, notably at the 3rd duke of Argyll’s Inveraray castle, after 1743, and afterwards

by the brothers Robert and James Adam. Their work was a castellated classicism – that is, buildings that had castellated detailing, but which also continued the fashion for classical proportion and symmetry. A building such as Culzean castle (afterwards enlarged) illustrates the point, as did the crow-stepped tower of the Barony kirk in Glasgow (demolished). Buildings such as these show that, prior to the 19th century, the concept of the Scottish castle was being revived and developed as an ideal.

However, after the turn of the century, things took a different course. What now happened was that national revivalism continued to be an ideal; but the models now, instead of being notionally Scottish, were very explicitly and unambiguously English; alluding to the Tudor period in particular – with flattened (so-called ‘Tudor’) arches proliferating, especially for churches, such as the parliamentary

Donaldson’s Hospital, an early example of a new fashion for English revivalist architecture

churches built under the superintendence of Thomas Telford at places like, say, Portnahaven, in Islay. Perhaps the wars with France, and horrified rejection by the elites of any democratic ideas spilling from the French revolution of 1789, helped bind Scotland more closely with England in the period. Scotland persuaded itself that at the battle of Waterloo in 1815, England had needed Scottish military help; people took pride in that, and they celebrated their Britishness as well as their Scottishness. The process was boosted by the enthusiasm generated from the 1822 royal visit to Edinburgh of George IV, who clad himself in tartan for the event.

English revivalist style

The shared sense of partnership in Britishness seems to have extended so far as to enable Scots to regard English history as British history, and therefore, their own to share. Scottish architects of the period such



as William Playfair, William Burn, David Hamilton and James Gillespie Graham – and John Smith and Archibald Simpson in the northeast – all worked hard to meet a client demand, not for Scottish, but for English revivalist architecture.

Two Edinburgh buildings by Playfair are the most prominent illustrations of this new fashion: Donaldson's Hospital (being planned from around 1830) and, for the new-formed free church, New College (built 1845-50, Assembly

21-23 Warrender Park Terrace, Edinburgh. A rank of Scotch Baronial tenements built 1881-83 and designed by Edward Calvert. Inset: monogram of architect Edward Calvert, 1881

Lady Stair's House, saved from demolition in 1897 and renewed by George Shaw Aitken

Hall added by David Bryce 1858-59). Regarding Donaldson's, in 1839 Playfair intended 'a Building, which in the correctness of its parts shall be worthy of comparison with the remains of Old English Architecture', and in 1850 he wrote of the chapel being 'like a Baronial Hall fit to receive Henry VIIIth, Anna Bullen [=Boleyn] and [Cardinal] Wolsey'. In 1827, Gillespie Graham visited English houses in order 'to have a sufficient knowledge of the Elizabethan style of buildings'. He also studied 'Houses of the Reign of James the 1st [being] most anxious to have a grip of the true character of that style of Building'. His mansion of The Lee (the 1820-25 building phase) won him praise from J.P. Neale, an English architectural writer, who regarded him 'an architect who has the merit of introducing the Gothic style into this country [i.e. Scotland], in a greater degree of purity and perfection than had previously been exhibited'. Houses such as Blickling hall and Hatfield were quarried as sources for Scottish buildings.

Meanwhile, English architects such as Robert Smirke, William Atkinson, Edward Blore and William Wilkins had come north to demonstrate how English architecture should be done; and their work was quickly influential. Burn possibly copied the centre-gabled formula of Atkinson's Taymouth castle east wing for his enlargement of Dundas castle, while he copied Wilkins's superbly-convincing neo-Tudor Dalmeny house (built in 1814-17 for Archibald, 4th earl of Rosebery) with a clearly derivative design for Garscube (1826).

The emergence of the Scotch baronial style

In many respects, Burn was to be the most significant of all these architects, but here we must bypass his career in England and focus instead on where in Scotland he was most innovative. Burn – together with Sir Walter Scott – was

to be the chief influence in creating and promoting what became known as the Scotch Baronial style; the castellated style that above all denotes Scottish architecture.

What Burn did was to create English-type houses, but with added Scottish features, notably crowsteps, corbelling, and turrets; sometimes towers, and an L-plan front – that is, an asymmetrical front with a wing stepping forward from one side. The idea was typical of 16th-century tower houses such as Castle Menzies, and revived by Burn. This hybrid style was developed much further in Burn's partnership with David Bryce, whose name is best-known as the greatest promoter of Scotch Baronial. Also like Burn, these same Scottish architects who built English designs would also come to design in the Scotch Baronial idiom. Clients had either option. Gillespie Graham, for example, in 1851, built the mammoth-towered Ayton castle for William Mitchell-Innes, director of the Royal Bank of Scotland.

The Scotch baronial style, with its often English-derived features such as bay windows, was to dominate Scottish fashion for the remainder of the century, and up to the first world war; its last great building being Sir Robert Lorimer's Scottish National War Memorial within Edinburgh castle, opened in 1927.

However, prior to the 19th century's end, another cultural somersault had taken place. Because by then, in total reversal to the century's early decades, Scotland had architects whose background was English and who were now tasked with producing not English, but Scottish revivalist designs. Amongst these architects were James Maitland Wardrop, whose work included new castles and tower houses, such as the reconstructed/ largely new-built Barnbogle (c.1880); George Shaw Aitken, who in 1897 reinvigorated Lady Stair's House which was then at risk of demolition (these both for the 5th Lord Rosebery), and – most



visibly – William Thomas Oldrieve, a government architect who built numerous pretty baronial buildings such as the post offices of Wick, Lerwick, Oban, Ayr, Stornoway, Montrose, and elsewhere.

Changing attitudes

The reason for this change seems to relate to changing attitudes within Scotland, and a questioning, (louder than when the century opened), of Scotland's place within the United Kingdom. The changing political environment saw the creation of bodies such as the Scottish Home Rule Association (1886), and the re-instated post of Scottish secretary in 1885. So clearly, the political environment was not the same as it had been two to three generations earlier.

As part of that trend, Charles Rennie Mackintosh declared in 1891 that Scotland's architecture was 'the native architecture of our own country and that of our forefathers...just as much Scotch as we are our selves – as indigenous to our country as our wild flowers, our family names our customs or our political constitution'. Also, earlier architects, in his view, had been unsuccessful in producing English-inspired designs, because in trying 'to imitate their work... [Scottish architects] thus lost their individuality'. And then, more

positively, he considered that 'from some recent buildings which have been erected it is clearly evident that this style is coming to life again'.

The total change in ideals is well-illustrated by two Edinburgh churches. In 1816, for the episcopal congregation of St John's church in Princes Street, Scottish architect William Burn produced a design akin to that of a medieval English parish church, which is clearly what was wanted. About a half-century later, for nearby St Mary's cathedral (constructed 1874-79), a new episcopal generation engaged English architect Sir George Gilbert Scott to produce a design which referenced Scotland's gothic churches. For example, in its east gable, St Mary's reproduced the Scots Gothic formula exemplified by Dunblane cathedral of having three identical giant lancets between the buttresses.

The change in priorities was reflected elsewhere in church fashion, with 'tower-houses', as at Sir J.J Burnet's Grangemouth (1893-94); or St Giles-like crown spires, as at St Leonard's, Perth (1885, by London Scott J.J. Stevenson). Glasgow architect and historian Dr Peter McGregor Chalmers popularised the idea of neo-Celtic round towers, as at St Leonard's, Dunfermline (1903-04).

So we see how this shift from the early part of the century's

St John's church, built in 1816 by William Burn and created to echo the design of a medieval English parish church

St Mary's cathedral by Sir George Gilbert Scott, to a design referencing Scottish Gothic

New College, built in 1845-50, was created by William Playfair

rejection of Scottish models and commissioning of English architects to do an authentic English or British job was wholly reversed before the century's end, when architects whose origins were in England now built Scotch baronial buildings for a clientele which now, overwhelmingly, sought that style. The shift coincided with the creation of organisations which had come into being because of the emergence of a changed national mood regarding Scotland's political situation within the UK.

We hope that our story told here helps to show how much Scotland's historic buildings can themselves tell us about Scotland's past. After all, buildings – just like documents – are primary historical source material, and if we 'read' them, we can learn from them.

Dr Clarisse Godard Desmarest is a lecturer in British History at the University of Picardie Jules Verne (Amiens) and a fellow of the Institut Universitaire de France.

Dr Aonghus MacKechmie is an architectural historian whose published work reflects his interest in the architecture and culture of the renaissance and the early modern periods in Scotland, romanticism, and the history and culture of his native highlands.



CHRONICLING THE CABRACH

In his latest hidden history tour, **Neil McLennan** visits the Cabrach in north east Scotland to see the work being done to preserve the unique history of this wild landscape, once a centre for illicit whisky distilling and smuggling



Top: A snow-covered Buck of Cabrach

Above: Dufftown, the perfect historic base for exploring the Cabrach region

Our Hidden History series and associated set of podcasts usually tend to focus on a visible place, person or object allowing us to dig a

little deeper. But my journey this time, to the Cabrach in the country's north east, focuses on an episode from our history that has been hidden for many generations. That history will now reach a wider audience thanks to the efforts of the Cabrach Trust, who aim to tell the story of the area's connections to the production of whisky through a new and ambitious project.

On the banks of the Deveron at the northern edge of the Cairngorms National Park sit the hauntingly empty buildings and farmlands around the Cabrach, once home to a community of almost 1,000 people who eked out a hard existence through farming, sometimes with illicit whisky-making on the side.

The first world war changed the community forever, with the loss of many

local men, some of whom did not even get as far as the battlefield, since diseases in the training camps killed many men before they saw any action. The abandoned houses in this area are often referred to as a living war memorial, a haunting reminder of the young men of the first world war who never returned.

Locally, a cairn stands proud but isolated in the vast wilderness, a remembrance symbol of a fallen generation. The words on the memorial are those of Mary Symon. Her poem, *The Soldiers Cairn*, was read recently by school children in Dufftown when a memorial plaque to her was unveiled there.

Changing times

As in communities up and down the country, the first world war saw a period of industrialisation and depopulation, with many people leaving the Cabrach. Whilst sheep farming still goes on in this region, until now the illicit whisky distilling and its associated trade was nothing but

a faded memory. However, the Cabrach Trust is going to change all that. It was recently awarded a £28,000 National Lottery Heritage Fund grant to help to tell the story of the role this area played in Scottish history. That grant is one small step towards the fundraising efforts to build a £6.5 million visitor centre in this 80-mile square area of natural beauty.

One aspect many are looking forward to is the production of authentic local whisky, which will be very different from the whisky most are used to. Whilst we tend to recognise today's peaty whisky as coming from Islay, historically peat would have been used in this Speyside production. Today's Speyside whiskies are sweeter, with caramel and floral flavours. Not for our whisky makers of old, who used peat as part of the production process, with little time allowed for the mixture to mature.

Nevertheless, despite its harder complexion, in years gone by Cabrach-made whisky was highly sought after. Originally it was not produced in big stills but on a more modest scale in one of the three farm distilleries in the area and the many local enterprises that sprung up over time – difficult to reach and well hidden from the excise men.

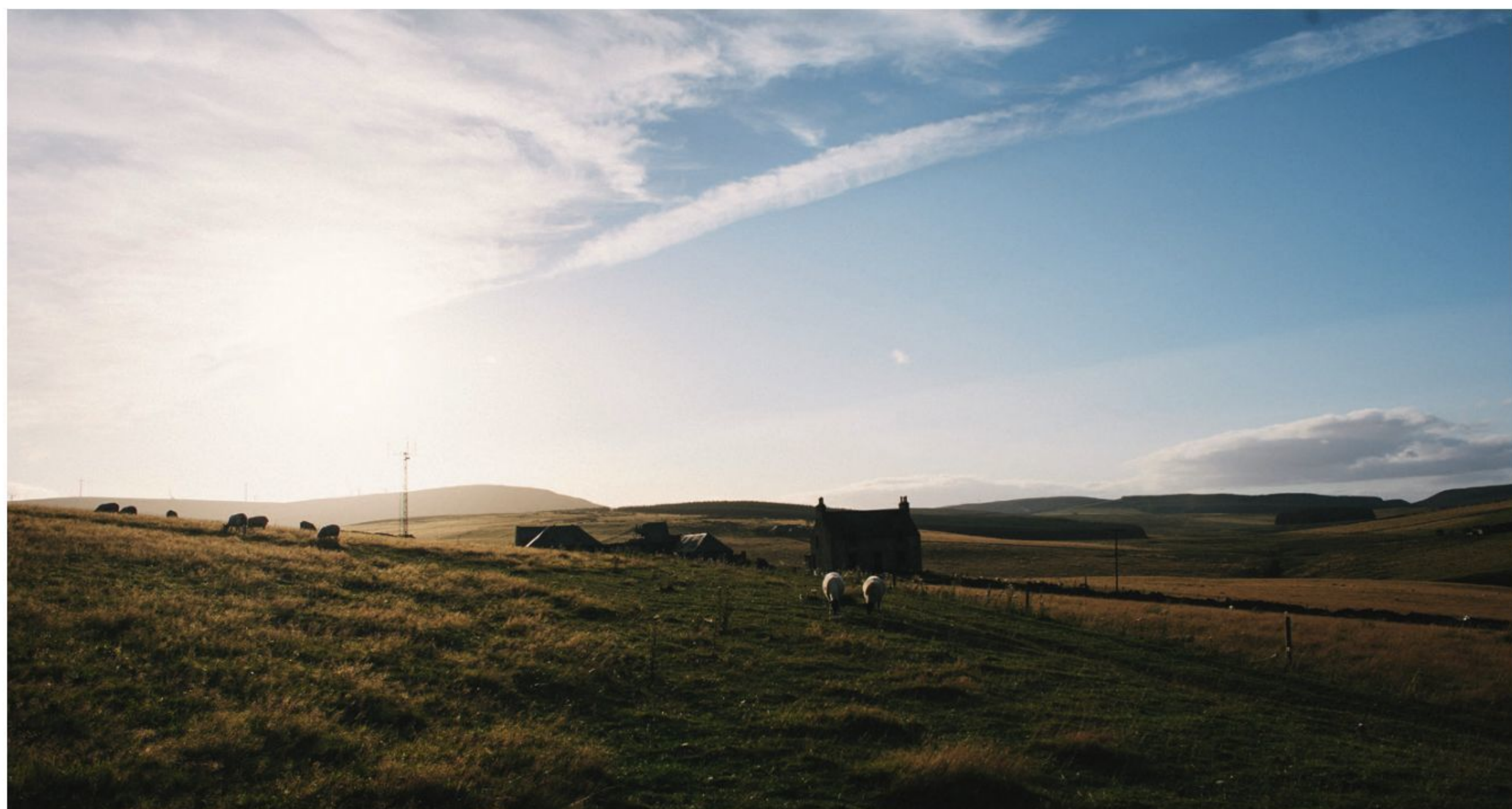
This area is vital to the story of whisky, as the Cabrach has an important story in the history of the malt whisky which we drink today. The scale of production for the black market led to a legal change in 1823 which legalised smaller whisky stills and thus helped make Scotch whisky the global success story it is today.

Recent ground-penetrating radar surveys found intriguing anomalies at Inverharroch farm, owned by the Cabrach Trust, leading to an archaeological dig and further research into the buildings, which date back well before the Jacobite risings. There are surely many more stories to be told.

Listen to Neil's Speyside podcast on our website:
<http://scot.sh/podcast>



Smuggler's well



The new project will tell stories of the Cabrach and its place in the history of Scotch whisky

Hidden history hotels



Tannochbrae guest house

In Dufftown lies a hidden history gem in local guest house Tannochbrae. Tannochbrae is a place perhaps best associated with the fictional village introduced to us through A.J. Cronin's short stories, *Dr Finlay's Casebook*, where it was described as 'a snug little village on the lochside'.

Dufftown's own Tannochbrae can be considered equally snug, welcoming and hospitable. **Tannochbrae Guest House** has a medical theme to it, as I found out when I met with its owners James and Louise, who were pleased to share the building's history.

First, we visited a tiny whisky bar which is a delight in itself, with historic whisky barrels and a great selection of whiskies. Behind the side door sits an old doctor's consultation room, where 'monkey shoulder' was first diagnosed. This medical term is now

used as the name of the unique and popular blend of three single malts from famous Speyside distilleries: Balvenie, Glenfiddich and the newest distillery Kininvie.

However, the original medical term came from the toil of turning the barley by hand. Long working hours and the repeated need to turn the barley led to a condition where a worker's dominant arm would hang down a little after many long and hard shifts.

Not only do James and Louise run a guesthouse, they have also spent much time renovating the old historic milking shed barns into two fine stone B&B/self catering cottages known as The Milking Sheds. In the heart of the malt whisky capital James and Louise can also lay claim to being the home of whisky ice cream – a great way to continue to put Dufftown and Moray on the map.

Was your ancestor a signatory of the Declaration of Arbroath?



As we approach the 700th anniversary of the declaration of Arbroath, **Graham S Holton** and **Alasdair F Macdonald** showcase a project that is combining documentary and genetic genealogy evidence to tell the stories of those who signed the declaration and to explore the lives of both their ancestors and descendants

The declaration of Arbroath, as it is now known, has become famous far beyond the borders of Scotland as an eloquent and moving statement of national identity and a nation's right to govern themselves without outside interference. Dated 6 April 1320, attention is again being turned to this medieval document as its 700th anniversary approaches, to provide a re-evaluation of its significance.

How significant was it in 1320 and the following years and how significant is it today? A number of events will be taking place to mark the anniversary, amongst which will be an exhibition at Arbroath abbey, marking the culmination of the declaration of Arbroath family history project run by the Genealogical Studies postgraduate programme based in the Centre for Lifelong Learning at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow.

This project follows in the footsteps of the Battle of Bannockburn family history project, which sought to focus on the individuals who participated

in the battle, an approach which had previously attracted little attention. In a similar way, the new project focuses on the individuals who were either mentioned in the document or attached their seals to it. There are two strands to the project: a documentary strand and a genetic genealogy strand, and the research is being carried out by postgraduate diploma students and members of staff of the postgraduate programme.

The declaration of Arbroath was in fact a letter to the pope, John XXII, requesting his assistance to encourage Edward II of England to recognise Scotland as an independent nation and to reach a peace agreement. It was sent on behalf of nobles, barons, freeholders and the 'community of the realm of Scotland', with 40 of these individuals being named in the document, to which was attached an impressive display of seals including eight for individuals not specifically named in the document. For ease of reference, we will refer to these individuals as signatories.

Arbroath abbey, where the Declaration was issued after it was planned at Newbattle abbey

Although the document was issued at Arbroath abbey, where Bernard, chancellor of Scotland, was abbot, and dated 6 April 1320, it was actually discussed and planned at a royal council which met at Newbattle abbey in March 1320, and then dispatched in May. It is interesting to note that acceptance of Robert Bruce as king was not universal. At the 'black parliament' held in August 1320 at Scone, twelve individuals were accused of conspiring to kill King Robert. Known as the Soules conspiracy, after William Soules, lord of Liddesdale and butler of Scotland, the alleged conspirators included five promoters of the declaration of Arbroath.

Five of the conspirators were found not guilty, four were executed, two were sentenced to life imprisonment and one died before his trial. This further secured King Robert's control, but as far as the recognition and peace sought by the declaration were concerned, they were still some time off, finally being achieved by the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton of 1328.

Exploring individual lives

Postgraduate diploma students of the programme have been set an assignment requiring them to research two individuals for the documentary strand of the project. From this research they are expected to produce a brief biography of the two individuals; a four-generation genealogy of their families, beginning with the four grandparents of the signatories; and recording all of their descendants as far as the generation after that of the signatories, and also details of their coats of arms, with images of these. To carry out the research, they are encouraged to use secondary sources judged to be reliable, as well as primary sources where these are available in printed versions. The main aims are twofold: firstly to give the students experience in carrying out research in the medieval period and secondly to build up a resource of data on the signatories of the declaration.

Genealogical research in the medieval period can be rather different than in more recent times and it is often difficult or impossible to find what you might assume to be basic data, such as details of births/baptisms, marriages and deaths/burials. At this period the presence of an individual recorded at a specific date may be the only type of information available. As a result, it was expected that some of the research findings would be far from

complete, lacking names of some of the grandparents and pieces of basic data as described above.

DNA evidence

In parallel with the documentary strand of the project, students have been tasked with confirming the male line descent of signatories including those extant and those now extinct using a wide range of primary and secondary sources. This should assist staff in carrying forward research into those male lines that have survived. The aim is to show that DNA can be utilised to demonstrate how individuals without documentary evidence can also be confirmed as descendants of the signatories.

This is possible as the male Y-chromosome is passed fundamentally unchanged from a father to his sons. It can therefore be used to track male line descent and confirm linkage between men who carry the same Y-chromosome and, very often, the same surname.

Genetic testing can also be used to understand better the medieval origin of male lineages, both those indigenous to Scotland and those that migrated due to historical events within the last 1,000 years.

The investigation uses a range of genealogical tests for the Y-chromosome such as STR tests (Short Tandem Repeat) and NGS (Next Generation Sequencing).

The latter in particular can verify

whether a living individual shares defining markers with a signatory's documented lineage and also helps to establish the timeframe to when their common ancestor flourished.

The impact of the declaration of Arbroath continues to influence our perspective of events of national importance that occurred 700 years ago and is therefore still relevant today. The relevance of historical events can be particularly felt by those with a personal connection to individuals of historical significance and the events they were associated with. This can be a driving factor in family history research and ancestral tourism. Those who signed the declaration or had their seals attached were but one important segment of Scottish society in 1320 and our current research aims to demonstrate the continuity of descent of extant lineages of a number of the signatories using traditional documentary research and genetic genealogy. The evaluation of the Y chromosome of documented descendants of signatories can enable men descended from these lines to confirm common direct ancestry even if they lack documentary evidence. The analysis of DNA test results can also demonstrate the integration into Scottish society of individuals with diverse genetic origins. The dual DNA-documentary approach to the project undertaken by students and staff is helping advance genetic genealogy studies into medieval families and their descendants.

The project expects to produce articles on the outcome of the research and there will be an exhibition presenting the results. This will include individual biographies, genealogical charts, heraldry and the genetic genealogy of a number of the signatories. The venue for the exhibition will be Arbroath abbey from 4 June to 13 August 2020, after which it is hoped to take it on tour to other venues.

Graham S Holton is principal tutor of the Genealogical Studies postgraduate programme at University of Strathclyde and Alasdair F MacDonald is a teaching fellow and lead tutor in the department of Genealogical Studies in the Centre for Lifelong Learning at University of Strathclyde.

Statue in Arbroath celebrating the declaration



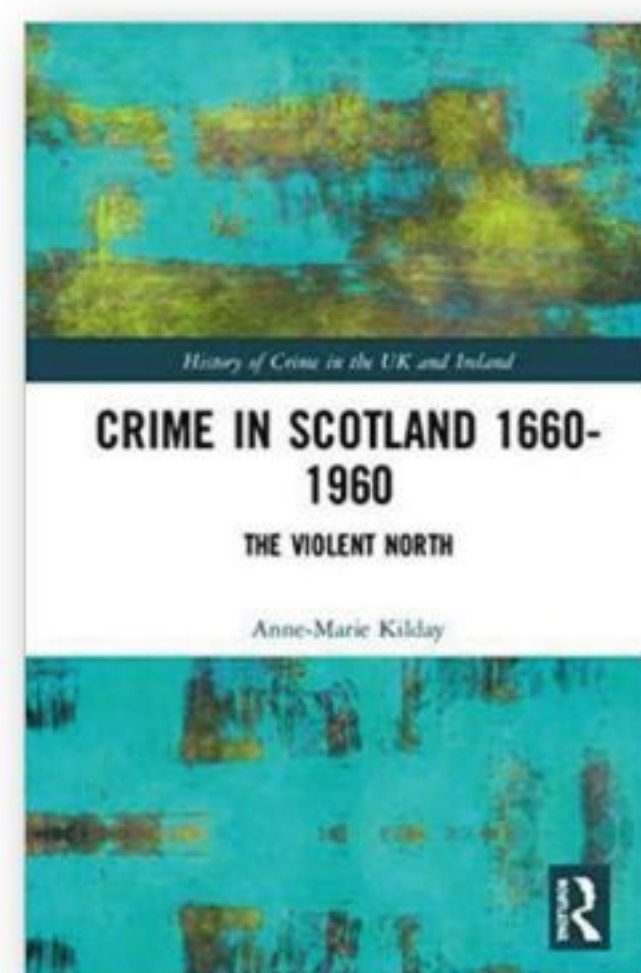


The violent north?

Brian Dempsey critiques a new survey of violent crime in Scottish history

Crime in Scotland 1660-1960: The Violent North?

Anne-Marie Kilday
Routledge, 2019
348 pages
Hardback, £115.00
ISBN: 9781843929451



In this book the author sets out to determine whether the labelling of Scotland over the last 300 or so years as 'the violent North' has been justified.

In the face of such examples as the English antiquarian William Camden's 1586 claim that Scots in battle gloried in 'drinking drafts of blood' from the 'wounds of the slain' (p.1), or a 2005 United Nations report that seemed to identify Scotland as the worst of 21 countries for assaults by way of the simple expedient of multiplying the reported figures by ten (pp.289-90), it is no surprise that Kilday's conclusion is that the label is exaggerated. Kilday's research shows that 'the notion of Scotland as a violent nation is a piece of historic, and occasionally contemporary, hyperbole', that episodes of serious and fatal interpersonal violence were 'relatively uncommon throughout the 1650-1960 period' and that 'serious property crimes were rare and recidivism (which was such an importunate preoccupation amongst social commentators) was relatively unusual' (pp.290-91).

The undoubted strength of the book lies in the breadth of sources considered. Particularly important is the extensive use of justiciary court manuscript records, including precognition and process papers, trial transcripts and reports, books of adjournal, minute books and sundry other documents. These voluminous sources provide far greater detail and context than could ever be gleaned from the very small percentage of cases that were summarised in official law reports or from published statistics of arrests, prosecutions and trial outcomes.

Kilday supplements the justiciary records with newspaper reports and contemporary, cheaply-printed populist broadsheets of varying quality, which detailed the crimes, trials, supposed final thoughts and executions of those accused of capital crimes. She also draws upon research by general historians such as Jenny Wormald, T.C. Smout and Rosalind Mitchison, as well as by the much smaller pool of legal historians, including Lindsay Farmer.

However, Kilday omits two key works that any study of crime in Scotland between 1660 and 1960 really should consider. The first is Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's remarkable *The Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal*, published in 1678 and containing a wealth of material of great value to both the legal and the social historian. At the other extreme of the author's timeframe, the second major missing text is the first edition of Sir Gerald Gordon's truly magisterial *The Criminal Law of Scotland*, published in 1967. Gordon provided the first reliable guide to the evolution of criminal law in Scotland since Baron Hume's two-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of Scotland*

legislative recognition of domestic abuse as a serious social problem was far slower in coming. It was not until the Protection from Abuse (Scotland) Act 2001 and then the Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2011 that the issue was properly considered by the Scottish judiciary' (p.118). It is very odd to blame Scottish judges for failure to legislate given that they have no role in the legislative process. Further, to criticise the Scottish criminal justice system for the lack of legislation addressing domestic abuse without acknowledging the limited interest in and time devoted to Scottish matters in the Westminster parliament gives a rather skewed picture.

This reviewer must declare an interest. After agreeing to review the book I discovered that the author has omitted to mention two peer-reviewed articles of mine on the historical treatment of sodomy. While every author must be philosophical about being overlooked, Kilday's assertion that 'neither bestiality nor sodomy has received any a scholarly attention in the post-1750 Scottish context' (p.79) merely advertises her unfamiliarity with the very existence of at least some of the relevant literature.

Kilday states that her book 'is the

Kilday supplements the justiciary records with newspaper reports and contemporary, cheaply-printed populist broadsheets of varying quality

Respecting Crime (1797 and 1834) and laid bare the failure to develop the law over the 19th and 20th centuries.

To expand on an example with which I am particularly familiar, Kilday's main section on domestic abuse is both confusing and confused to the point of being either meaningless or misleading. Having noted four somewhat ineffective English acts from the second half of the 19th century relating to domestic abuse, Kilday states that 'in Scotland by contrast,

first national history of crime in Scotland' (p.289) and that much can be acknowledged. The author also boldly asserts in her conclusion (rather than as puffery on the back cover) that her work 'makes a landmark contribution to scholarship on the history of crime' (p.289), which rather remains to be seen.

Brian Dempsey is a lecturer in law at the University of Dundee, specialising in family law, criminal law and legal history.

Exploring unvoiced questions

Louise Heren explores a thought-provoking account of how Scottish sex lives have been judged and policed over the last century

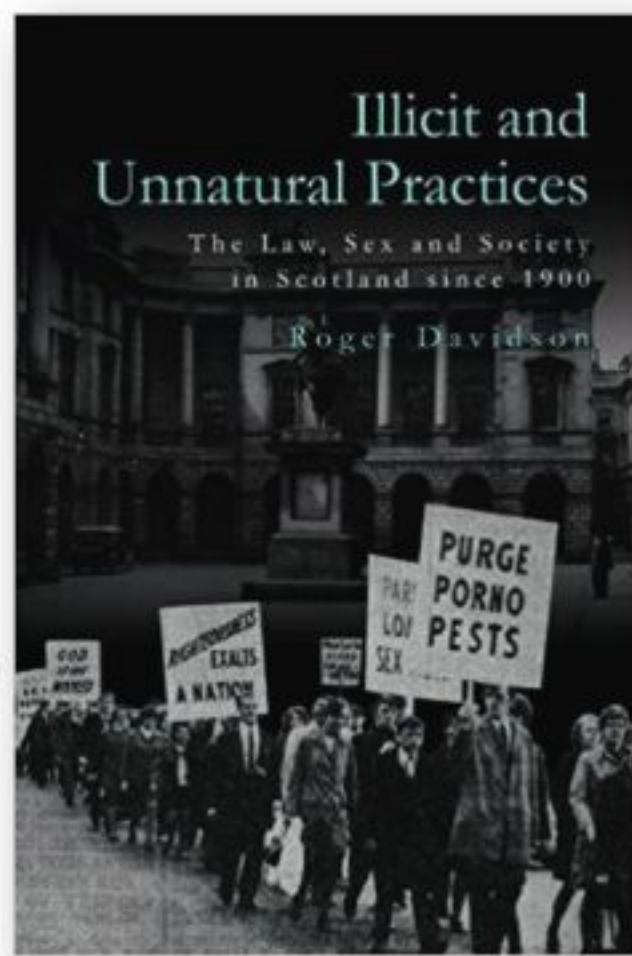
Illicit and Unnatural Practices: the Law, Sex and Society in Scotland since 1900

Roger Davidson

Edinburgh University Press,
2019, 228 pages

Hardback, £80.00

ISBN: 9781474441193



In his latest tour of Scotland's murkier social history, Professor Davidson returns to his favourite topic: how the Scots practised sex during the 20th century. It is a subject that many would consign to the ivory towers of academia, but Davidson's approach is highly readable.

By approaching topics such as prostitution and child sexual abuse through a historical lens, Davidson spotlights and contextualises social issues that readers might more usually categorise as news items of primary concern to other people. His book poses many unvoiced questions: how much child sexual abuse is reported today and how do the authorities deal with it? How would we react to a sex shop opening in our street? Recognising these as both modern-day concerns and historical issues draws us closer to our near-ancestors.

There is no getting away from it: when sex and especially 'deviant' sex is mentioned, it brings out a tendency to moralise in the best of us. As Davidson acknowledges in the opening chapter on venereal disease, 'the demand for quacks and patent medicines was due to the enduring moral stigma attached to VD and the inevitable desire to conceal infection from family and community' (p.16). The notion of stigma pervades this book, whether that of the VD patient, the sexually assaulted child and his/her family, or the desperate woman seeking an abortion prior to legalisation in 1968.

Davidson's method of teasing out the history of 20th-century Scottish abortion is particularly notable. With few women prepared to discuss abortion openly, he has relied on high court of justiciary abortion prosecutions between 1900 and 1930. Those

accused in the high court proceedings were the women who sought or had abortions, alongside their abortionists if they divulged their identities. These women's individual 'voices' – their personal testimonies – are shaped by the people, usually men, who recorded their depositions. Nevertheless, Davidson skilfully pieces together these women's experiences and motives, turning black & white historical actors into full-colour women with real lives and predicaments. His research points to the social stigma of pre-marital pregnancy as the main reason for abortion among young women. Married

Davidson skilfully pieces together these women's experiences and motives, turning black & white historical actors into full-colour women with real lives and predicaments

women sought abortion when they could not face another pregnancy or another baby in a family already bursting at the seams.

Abortion and sexual assault were the domain of female victims, while the stigma of VD was suffered by both females and males. However, from Davidson's research, it was men who were prosecuted for bestiality and homosexuality, with the sexual and social stigma attached historically to both activities constructed from a male perspective.

Later chapters focus particularly on the last 50 years of sex legislation and how the law has furthered tolerance, acceptance and understanding. Chapter 6 recounts the antics of Dora Noyce, owner of the Danube Street brothel in Edinburgh. Given Noyce's self-professed moral and political conservatism, this chapter has a hint of the comic about it. Noyce – 'a bit of a square' (p.115) – ran a brothel with the connivance of the police. In return for dobbing in clients from the criminal underworld, she was often given 'discreet forewarning' (p.121) of police raids. On the flip side, her known association with the police protected her brothel from takeover attempts by organised crime syndicates. But after her death, local residents voiced their concerns about the

brothel and it finally closed in 1977.

Davidson goes on to discuss Scotland's first sex shop, a Glasgow establishment called Ann Boleyn, which was greeted locally with 'moral outrage' (p.153). Although incensed Glaswegians made repeated attempts to have the shop closed, it is clear from Davidson's research that highlanders were enjoying themselves courtesy of the shop's mail order service.

Which leads to a personal criticism of the publisher of this book: having checked out its price on a certain well-known mail order website, why, oh why does Edinburgh

University Press continue to charge so much for its books, ensuring that they gather dust in university libraries rather than reaching the general public?

It would be easy to quip that this is a 'romp' through Scotland's recent sexual past, but the serious academic research on which this book is based grounds the reader on every page. Davidson concludes that 'the law both reflected and reinforced contemporary moral concerns that occupied public and professional debate' (p.202).

The law was reacting to moral outrage from the populace: newspapers reported salacious stories and fuelled public concern about the amount of sexual crime in Scottish society. This pattern persists to the present day. However, it will take time – and more research like Davidson's – before it is possible to judge whether we experience more, less or better justified moral panic than our forebears on matters to do with sex.

Having graduated many years ago with a degree in Scottish History from the University of St Andrews, Louise Heren has recently returned to academia and her alma mater to complete a doctoral thesis researching male sexual violence in interwar Scotland.



Discover more events and exhibitions on our website:
<http://scot.sh/HSxevents>

WORKSHOP

Beginner's class in English genealogy, 7 December

Would you like help in tracing your English ancestors? Join Ken Nisbet for a workshop on navigating English family history records and how these differ from their Scottish counterparts. Runs 10am to 2pm, £10 per ticket. Book at the Scottish Genealogy Society website: <https://scot.sh/hsenglish>
Scottish Genealogy Society, 15 Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh EH1 2JL

LECTURE

The lost medieval towers of Edinburgh castle, 14 November

Join archaeologist Peter Yeoman for an exploration of recent historical research and archaeological investigations which are revealing how the castle would have looked at different points in its history. The talk will also explore the leisure side of this building, with James I's herb garden, James II's sauna and James IV's billiards table.

Starts 10.30am, tickets £9.

Book at: <https://scot.sh/towers>

Lauriston castle, 2 Cramond Road South, Edinburgh EH4 6AD

CONFERENCE

Scotland's Community Heritage Conference, 9 November

Historic Environment Scotland, Archaeology Scotland and the Scottish Council on Archives have announced the return of this conference for its eighth year. This year's theme is 'making places, connecting people', exploring how involvement in local heritage can benefit communities and strengthen connections. For booking information, visit: <https://scot.sh/birnam>

Bimam Arts & Conference Centre, Station Road, Bimam, Dunkeld PH8 0DS

EVENT

Touring Scotland with Boswell & Johnson, 11 November

In 1773, lexicographer Samuel Johnson, and his eventual biographer James Boswell embarked upon a tour of the highlands and islands of Scotland. Joe Waterfield uses Historic Environment Scotland archive photos and drawings to recreate the journey. Follow this with a visit to the search room to see archive material. Free but booking essential at: <https://scot.sh/boswell>
HES Archives & Library, John Sinclair House, 16 Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh EH8 9NX

DIARY DATES

Lighting up winter



Make the most of the winter season with festive events around the country that aim to bring some light to cheer the gloom. **Edinburgh castle** is staging Castle of Light on dates through November and December, with visuals and light installations that bring history to life on the very walls where it was made.

Nearby, **Lauriston castle** celebrates Christmas 1910-style on 15 December with a costumed performance showing how the castle's family would have celebrated the festive season in Edwardian times. Walk through the castle and enjoy the drama and humour with carefully researched performances showing what life would have been like at Lauriston in the early 20th century.

Oban Winter Festival sees townspeople and visitors come together to celebrate the winter months. Enjoy a ten-day (15-24 November) celebration of light displays, parades, performing arts, ceilidhs, music, Christmas lights and an ice rink.

Join the Crannog community on 1 December at the **Scottish Crannog Centre** near Aberfeldy as it comes together to celebrate Yule before winter sets in. There will be Christmas crafts, music, children's activities, a visit from the Green Lady, mulled wine and mince pies.





***Scotland from the Sky*, until 19 January 2020**

Blackness castle hosts *Scotland From The Sky*, a selection of stunning aerial photography that offers a bird's eye view of some of Historic Environment Scotland's best-loved historic properties. Enjoy seeing castles, urban buildings and countryside scenes from above. Entry included within the price of admission to the castle.

Blackness castle, Blackness, Linlithgow, West Lothian EH49 7NH;
tel: 01241 878756; website: <https://scot.sh/sky>

***Mary Cameron: Life in Paint*, 2 November 2019 to 15 March 2020**

An exhibition celebrating the life and career of pioneering Edinburgh-born artist Mary Cameron (1865-1921). Born in Edinburgh, she began her artistic career as a portraitist and genre painter in her native city, before venturing abroad to study in Paris. *Life in Paint* explores the story of Cameron's life and career, charting her creative journey



from elegant family portraits to striking Spanish scenes. It features over 40 rarely-seen artworks from public and private collections, complemented by historic photographs and archival material. Free admission.

City Art Centre, 2 Market Street, Edinburgh EH1 1DE;
tel: 0131 529 3993; website: <https://scot.sh/cameron>

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TALK

Archive fever? A worm's eye view of the NRS and the NRAS, 20 November

Professor Vicky Coltman offers new and existing readers an introduction to using the resources of the National Records of Scotland and National Register of Archives for Scotland for the purposes of academic research. Drawing on her experience of writing a cultural history of Scotland from the mid-18th century to the 1830s, she will give us a 'worm's eye' view of her craft that will include some discoveries, low points and 'tricks of the trade'. Starts 1pm. Book at: <https://scot.sh/fever>

New Register House, 3 West Register Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YT

TALK

The king in the north: the latest progress on the Northern Picts project, 22 November

The king in the north: the latest progress on the Northern Picts project – a talk by Gordon Noble, University of Aberdeen on understanding the recent results of excavations at Burghead and Mither Tap – two early medieval forts that help illuminate the nature of power in early medieval Scotland.

Entry £4. Starts 7.30pm.

Carnegie Hall, Portmahomack.

Organised by Tarbat Discovery Centre.

CONFERENCE

Women's History Scotland conference, 16 November

The theme for this year's Women's History Scotland conference is 'Gender transgressions: historical perspectives', exploring the idea of transgressing gender norms and the consequences of this for individuals or groups. Venue tbc.

Website: <https://scot.sh/transgress>

WORKSHOP

A guide to borrowing from National Museums Scotland, 19 November

Come along to National Museum of Scotland to find out about its national outgoing loans programme that provides historic items on long-term and short-term loan. This workshop provides a basic introduction to applying for a National Museums Scotland loan and looks at the factors that organisations should consider before applying.

National Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF. 10am to 1pm.
Free entry. Tel: 0131 247 4024

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AT MELROSE

Sir Walter Scott at Melrose by Joseph Mallord William Turner captures the novelist enjoying an evening picnic overlooking the ruins of Melrose abbey

The party having a picnic in the foreground includes Sir Walter Scott, the publisher Robert Cadell, Scott's servant, and possibly Turner himself. They had stopped to admire this view looking towards Melrose over the River Tweed on their way to and from Smailholm tower. Turner had returned to the same spot to make the sketches which form the basis for this watercolour. The valley is bathed in the golden light of early evening, complemented by the lilac tones of the distant hills. The ruins of Melrose abbey are the only prominent structures of the pretty Borders town.



The artist:

Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851)

Born in Covent Garden, London, the son of a barber, Turner exhibited his earliest sketches in his father's shop before studying at the Royal Academy Schools. Turner became the youngest ever full member of the Royal Academy in 1802. His experimental use of watercolour and oils achieved stunning effects, attracting contemporary criticism and praise. Turner's admiration of past masters, above all Claude Lorraine, and the numerous sketches made on many tours in Britain and abroad, provided the basis for his 'sublime' land and seascapes.

THE PAINTING

Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775 - 1851), Melrose, 1831. Watercolour with scraping on paper, 10.00 x 15.60 cm. Photography © Antonia Reeve. Henry Vaughan Bequest 1900 © National Galleries of Scotland

New at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery from 16 November is *Scotland's Photograph Album: The Mackinnon Collection*, a photography exhibition of images collected by Murray MacKinnon that represent Scottish life from the 1840s to 1940s. Photographers include William Henry Fox Talbot, David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson and Julia Margaret Cameron. Details at: <https://scot.sh/mackinnon>

Spotlight on...

Friends of Robert Burns Birthplace Museum

The Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Ayrshire welcomes tens of thousands of visitors each year, many of whom have travelled a considerable number of miles to see 'the most recognisable thatched roof in Scotland' – that of the cottage built by William Burns in 1757, where his son Robert was born two years later.

Friends of Robert Burns Birthplace Museum is a registered charity whose objectives are to support the arts, heritage and culture by supporting the National Trust for Scotland with regard to their property, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, and by organising, aiding with events, raising funds and encouraging donations.

Whether working on large-scale projects such as a recent £30,000 restoration project of the Burns monument in Alloway, volunteering



in the garden shop at the museum, or driving the visitor buggy along Poets' Path, there is always plenty to do. The Burns monument stands 70 feet tall and was opened in 1823. It reopened this July on completion of a £350,000 renovation. The Friends contributed £36,000 towards this project and plan to make a further donation. A donation of £11,000 has also been made to the current Burns cottage appeal and again, the Friends have plans for a further donation towards this



Above: the Burns supper at Burns Cottage, 25 January 2019. The World's Foremost Burns Supper run by the Friends of Robert Burns Birthplace Museum follows the format of the first recorded Burns supper that was held in the Cottage in 1801; Below: The Burns monument, Alloway, recently restored with the help of donations from the Friends

£100,000 appeal project.

The museum houses 5,500 Burns-related artefacts, with around 550 on display, and there is much more to see at and around the site, including the 15th-century Brig O' Doon where Tam O' Shanter escaped from ghosts and witches in Robert Burns' epic tale; the Burns monument and gardens; and the Auld Kirk Alloway, scene of the witches' dance in *Tam O' Shanter*.

Recently, the group held a big band fundraising night at the museum, whilst those of the members with an acting bent enjoy donning costume and transforming into a character from one of Burns's work, to help bring the museum experience to life for visitors.

How to get involved

Find out more about the Friends on their Facebook page <https://scot.sh/friends> or visit the website: <https://friendsofbbbm.org.uk>

New members and volunteers are always welcome and you can make a donation via the website, as well as finding out about upcoming and ongoing events and projects.

Learning opportunities



As thoughts turn to the coming winter months, **Ken Nisbet** of the Scottish Genealogy Society offers some suggestions for expanding your family history knowledge

With the summer holidays over, thoughts often turn to other activities such as family history. Many of Scotland's family history societies take a summer break from talks, beginning again in the autumn. **The Scottish Association of Family History Societies** (SAFHS) website lists many of Scotland's family history societies at www.safhs.org.uk (see the members tab) or you can look at the websites of the individual societies. For example, **The Scottish Genealogy Society's** site (www.scotsgenealogy.com) details the society's talks as well as the family history classes it runs, which can be booked online.

Whilst both **Strathclyde University** and **Dundee University** run academic genealogy courses at higher educational level, other institutions also run classroom based non-academic courses, such as **Life Long Learning**: <https://scot.sh/lifelong>. Some courses are operated purely online, including those from **Pharos**: www.pharostutors.com

If you have taken a break from the hobby over the summer it is also worth checking the commercial websites for new developments and additions. **Scotland's People** (www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk)

recently added the 1940 valuation roll. Also check **FindMyPast**: www.findmypast.co.uk and **Ancestry** click www.ancestry.co.uk/cs/recent-collections for new records. **Family Search** also regularly update their database: www.familysearch.org/en

If you are not a member of a family history society it is worth joining one, as those that have research premises have often taken out institutional subscriptions to the major websites and will have many other resources you can use. All SAFHS member societies, whether or not they have premises, will have resources their members can use and volunteers on hand who are happy to discuss where they can assist with your family history research.



Ken Nisbet is secretary of the Scottish Genealogy Society and of the Scottish Association of Family History Societies and is on the user group for the Family History Centre in Edinburgh. He is a regular lecturer to Scotland's family history societies. He has written a number of books, all of which are published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, and tutors some of the classes the society runs.

Discover more about family history at: www.family-tree.co.uk the online home of Family Tree magazine



AN EDINBURGH TEA MERCHANT IN CHINA

Annie Tindley introduces a volume of letters and papers that tells the story of everyday life for merchants in the early years of free trade between Britain and China, demonstrating what it was like to live and work in the treaty ports during this fast-changing era

In this edition of *History Scotland*, we have learnt about how other countries viewed Scotland from 2,000 years ago onwards (p.22), but what of those Scots who left their home country either temporarily or permanently? The Society has a rich seam of published material on Scots overseas which shows how these men and women viewed their adopted contry. The subject of this column, William Melrose, was a 19th-century tea merchant in China, a somewhat more traditional occupation for Scots travelling, working and living in Asia.

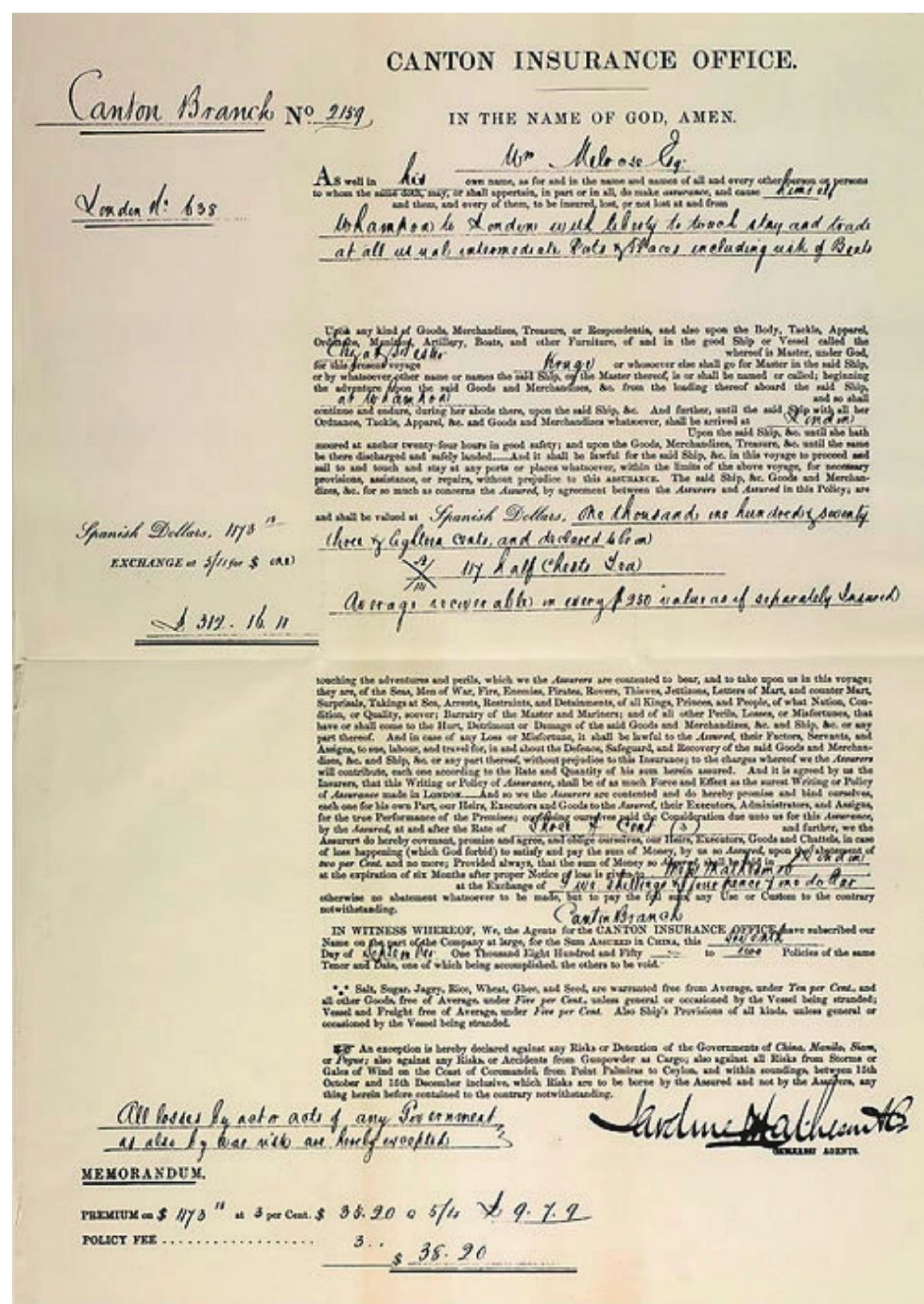
William Melrose came from a respectable Edinburgh family, and sojourned twice in China as employee and manager in his father's firm, Andrew Melrose and Company. The letters and papers presented in this volume deal with the 1840s and 50s, the early years of the opening of free trade between Britain and China in the wake of the first opium war (1839-42).

What is fascinating about this collection is not the engagement with the high politics of the time, but rather the day-to-day transactions and the experience of living in China's treaty ports at this time. The letters here include those to and from William's father, and consist of descriptions of his daily routine, commercial activities, local happenings and of course gossip and news from home. These make lively and fascinating reading, as William writes to his father about his dreams for the future, his fears and hopes. We are able to discern quite clearly the nature of the motivations, priorities and context of the Scottish middle and professional classes: respectability and hard work, of course, but also family warmth and loyalty, even when geographically separated for years at a time.

The volume is not all about family relations, however; also included is William's business correspondence with firm partners back in Scotland, full of information on the Chinese authorities and their European competitors, chief of which was the (in)famous Jardine Matheson.

This volume rewards the reader with a rich and multi-layered sense of the experience of Scots living and working in Asia in turbulent political and emotional times and what opportunities lay for them overseas, as well as what they missed from Scotland.

William Melrose in China 1845-1855, the letters of a Scottish tea merchant (eds), Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, vol. 10, 4th series (Edinburgh, 1973). Read the text at: <https://scot.sh/melrose>



The volumes shed light on what life was like for Scots working in China

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Annie Tindley is communications officer for the Scottish History Society and Senior Lecturer in History at Newcastle University.

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January/February issue:
on sale 14 December 2019

History Scotland is published bi-monthly by
Warners Group Publications ISSN: 1475-5270
Printed by Warners (Midlands) plc,
The Maltings, Bourne, Lincs PE10 9PH
Distribution by Warners Group Publications plc

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FINAL WORD

Historian, writer and broadcaster **James Crawford**
talks to *History Scotland* about his new role as 2019-20
ambassador for the Explore Your Archive campaign



When was the first time in your career that you made substantial use of archive material?

At university I studied the history of philosophy of law – an incredibly wide-ranging topic. I wrote dissertations on subjects as diverse as the trial of the former SS chief Klaus Barbie in the 1980s, and South Africa's 'Truth and Reconciliation' Commission at the end of apartheid, to the shifting nature of punishment and prisons over thousands of years. It was at this point that the archive bug bit hard. Research can be immersive and all-consuming – and often incredibly frustrating. But there is little to compare with the excitement of those moments when you finally find that elusive piece of archive material: that fragment, say, from a diary you've been hunting. You suddenly feel an incredibly intimate connection with the author. They may have been writing hundreds of years ago – but in an instant you are in a direct conversation with them, and with the past. Time compresses and – when you have time to reflect – you are immensely thankful for all of those archives that dedicate their existence to the preservation of the many disparate fragments of our history.

What can you tell us about the use of archive material when researching *Scotland From the Sky*?

The whole concept for the series was based around the use of archive material. We progressed from the starting point that the view from above offers an incredible – and to my mind, the best – perspective for tracking and understanding landscape change. This is particularly the case in Scotland, where the aerial photography archives held by Historic Environment Scotland provide over a century of aerial imagery of our cities, towns and countryside. We were able to use these photographs to tell big stories about massive urban and rural redevelopment, but also to focus on the individual personal stories of those people affected by change – from the residents of high-rise flats, to crofters flooded from their homes by the development of post-war hydro schemes. Combining archive imagery with modern drone or helicopter footage can be an extraordinarily powerful tool for showing these changes in just a few seconds. In the most recent series, for instance, we looked at the poignant decline of the Ravenscraig steel

plant, showing it morph from a beacon of heavy industry to Europe's largest waste ground.

Are there any particular collections you feel maybe don't get the attention they deserve?

In many respects, it is not just one particular archive that I would single out, but rather I'd argue that it is all of them. Human beings are social creatures, driven by the power of storytelling. The engine of this storytelling is archives – whether big or small. They are the keepers of our memories and of who we are and who we have been. To lose our archives would be to suffer from a kind of collective amnesia, a dislocation and rootlessness. Storytelling is everywhere today – in films, streaming services, podcasts, books – but we must recognise that these stories stand on the foundations of archives and would be immeasurably poorer without them.

What do you hope people will gain from the 2019/20 Explore Your Archive campaign?

At a time of increasing – and deeply troubling – library closures, my hope is that this campaign will both highlight the vital importance of archives and the archiving process, and will also encourage people to get out there and benefit from the wealth of history that is – often quite literally thanks to wonderful advances in digital and online archiving – at their fingertips. Archives are the wellspring of stories. They help us better understand the world of the past, and the world we live in today. We ignore or diminish them at our peril.

Find out more about Explore Your Archive at: <http://www.exploreyourarchive.org>;

James's website: www.jamescrawford.space



James sharing his passion for archives through the TV series 'Scotland from the Sky'

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The life of Mary Queen of Scots is the subject of a new film from Universal Pictures, starring Saoirse Ronan

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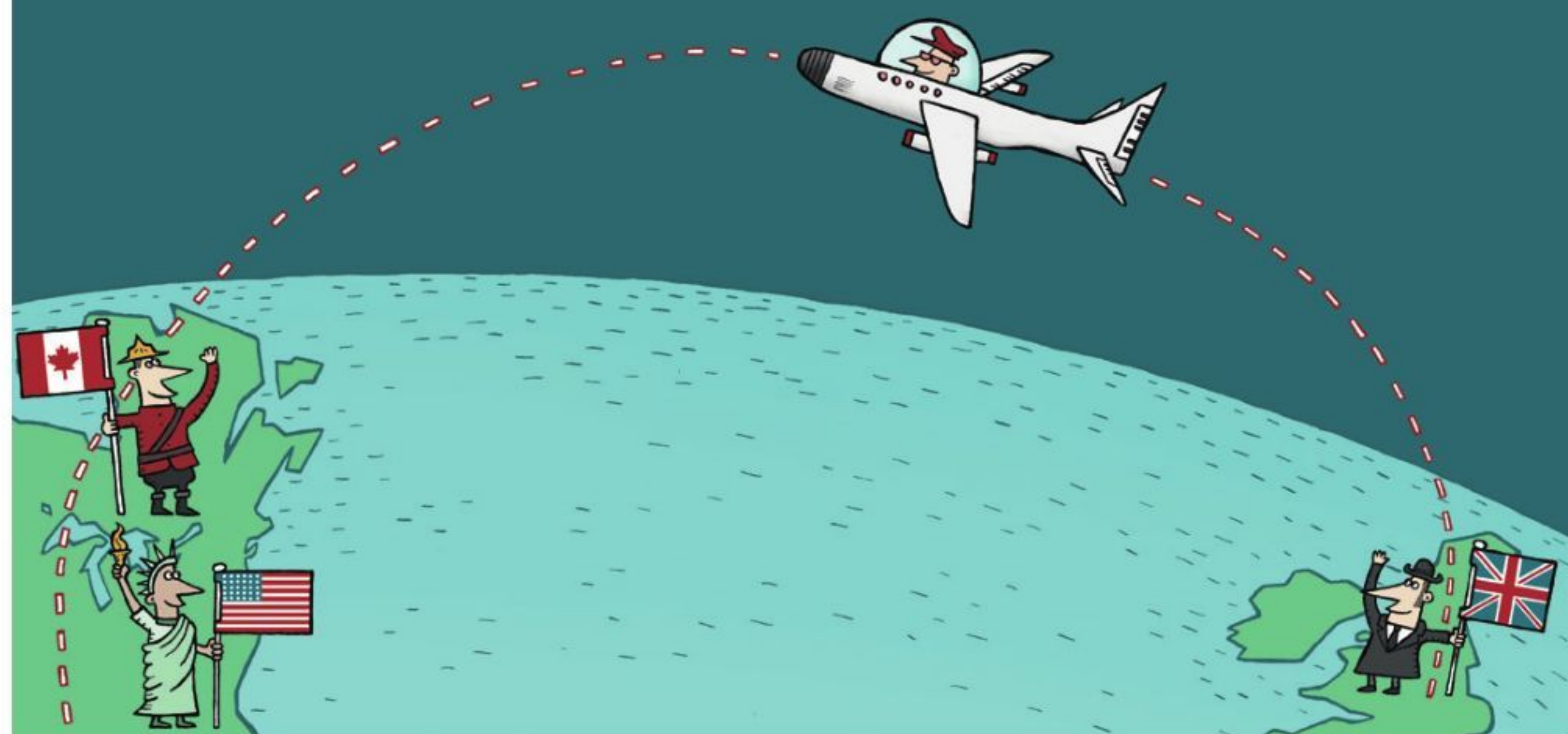
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